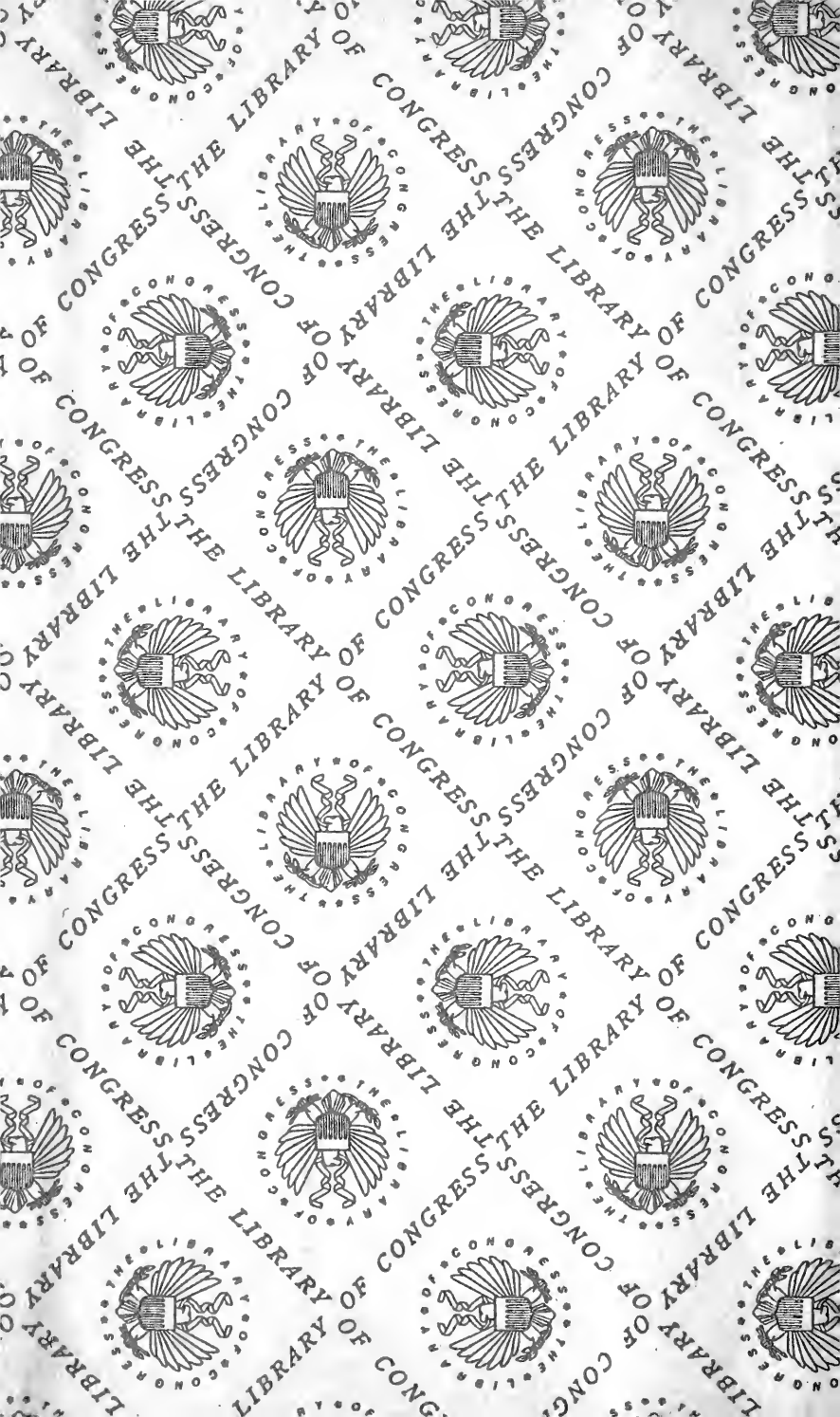
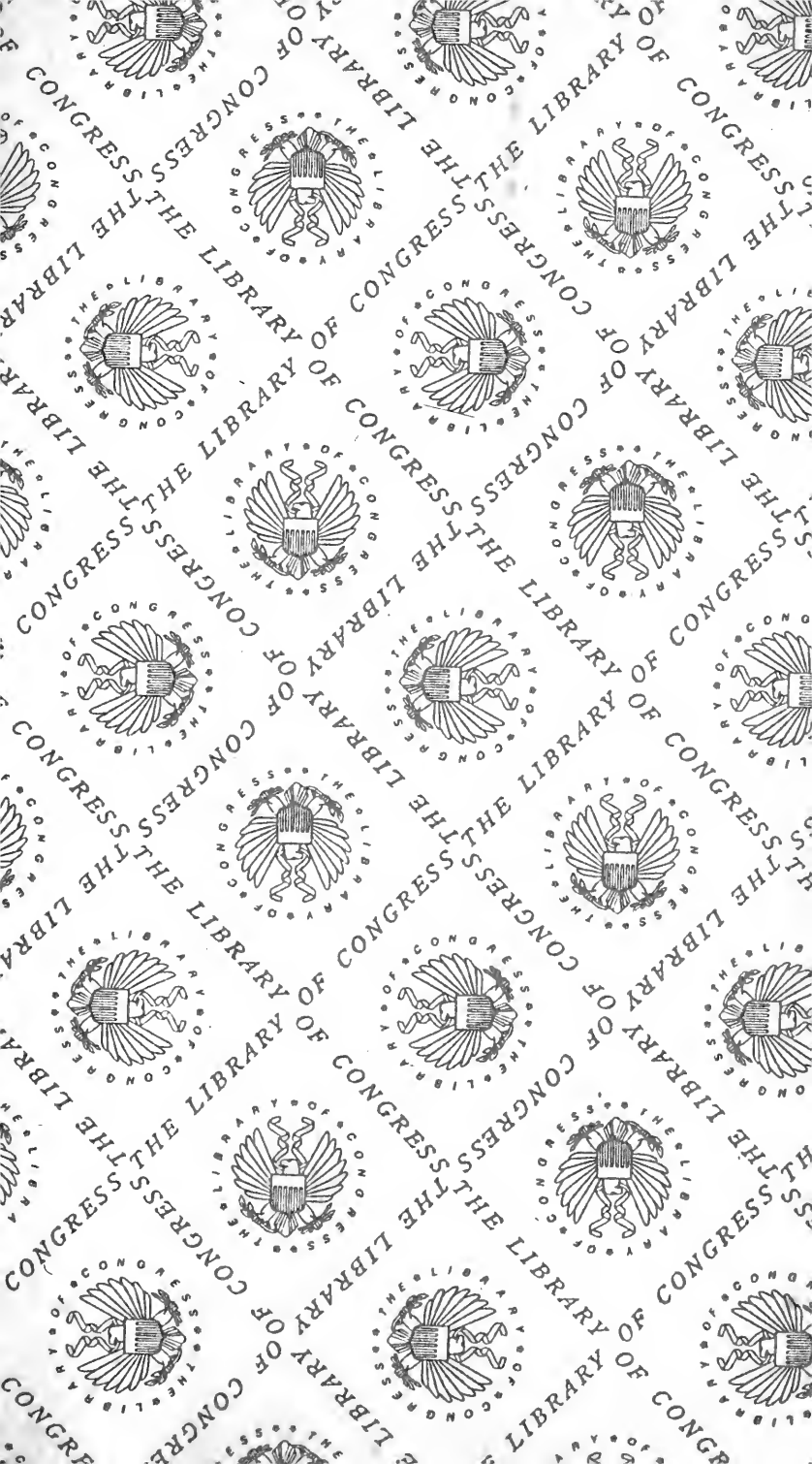


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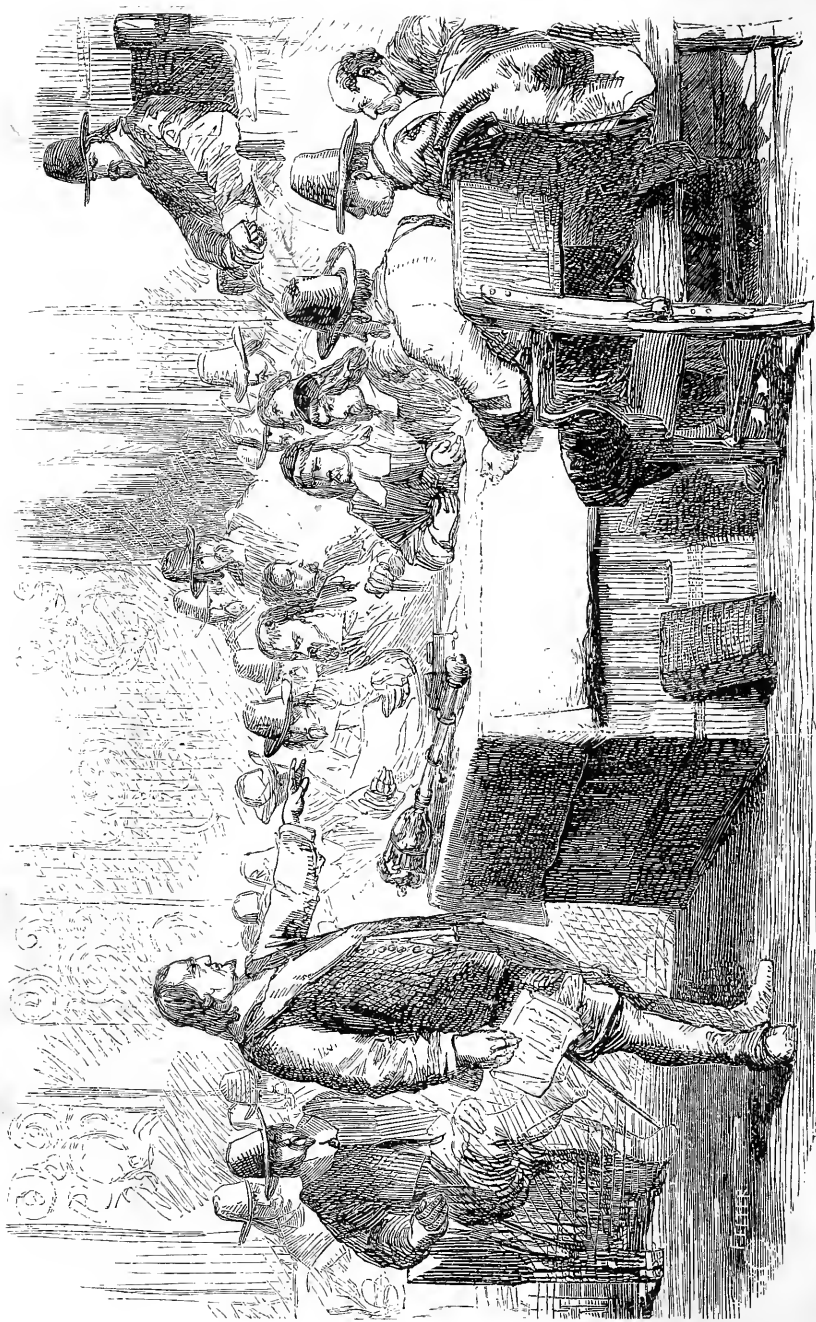












Cromwell addressing Parliament in favor of Religious Liberty.

L I F E

O F

O L I V E R C R O M W E L L .

BY CHARLES ADAMS, D.D.

FOUR ILLUSTRATIONS.

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PREFACE.

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THIS book attempts a true and unprejudiced picture of a great and good man—a man who, with some marked faults, was distinguished by eminent virtues—who was great in arms and in statesmanship; and, in his views of religious and civil liberty, stood a century in advance of his times; and who, from early manhood to his death, feared and served his God with an earnestness of purpose and a depth and constancy of devotion rarely surpassed.

It will be seen that the author has made free use of available resources. The various English histories have not, of course, been neglected. D'Aubigné's "Vindication," and "Neal's History of the Puritans," together

with the encyclopedias, have been laid under contribution, while Carlyle's inimitable volumes have been largely consulted and drawn upon for both facts and embellishments.

It is hoped that this humble effort to attract the attention of American youth to the most remarkable man of the seventeenth century, and one of the best abused men of history, will not be in vain.

ILLINOIS FEMALE COLLEGE, *March* 30, 1867.

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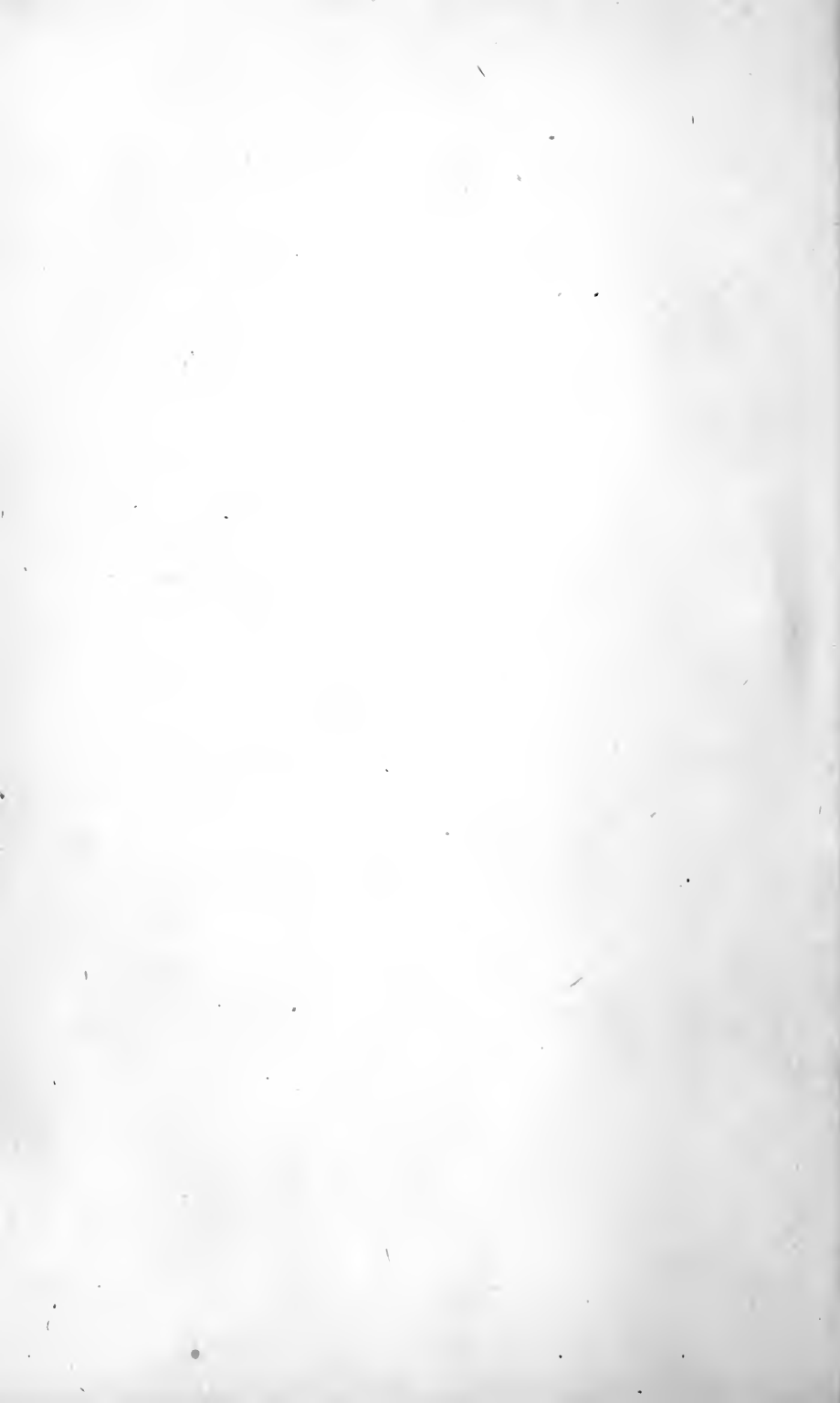
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LIFE

OF

OLIVER CROMWELL.

CHAPTER I.

Birth of Cromwell — Childhood and Youth — Early Associations — Huntingdon — Goes to Cambridge — Deaths — Goes to London — Marriage — Occupation.

OLIVER CROMWELL was born April 25, 1599. He was the fifth child of Robert and Elizabeth Cromwell; and, both on his father's and mother's side, seems to have been of the rank of the substantial gentry of the time.*

Little is known of the childhood and youth of this boy, who was destined to act so prominent a part in the history of his country, and to exert so important an influence upon the interests of civil and religious liberty throughout the civilized world.†

* A class of people in England between the nobility and the common people.

† Many anecdotes are told of Cromwell's boyhood; but they, for the most part, are deemed unauthentic.

He seems to have been an active and resolute child, and grew up in the bosom of an austere family, where the intrigues of the Jesuits and the popish tendencies of the Anglican Church on the one hand, and the rights and power of the word of God on the other, were the engrossing subjects of thought and conversation.

The boy Oliver listened to these somber discussions, and breathed in this spirit; and here were dropped into his juvenile mind the seeds which, in the lapse of half a century, were to grow into plants of gigantic dimensions, and wondrous strength, fragrance, and beauty.

Huntingdon, forty or fifty miles northerly of London, is pleasantly situated on the banks of the Ouse; and here, in a stately, pleasant house, amid shady lawns and expanses, was the birth-place of Oliver Cromwell. It has been twice rebuilt within these two hundred and seventy years; and is, at present, a solid yellow brick house with a walled court-yard, and occupied by some townsman of the wealthier sort. A little brook glides through the court-yard; and the river, at a short distance, winds its quiet way eastward toward the fenlands, overlooked by the town. Westward is a variegated and pic-

turesque country, bearing marks of careful and long-continued cultivation. Here, on the edge of the firm green land, and looking over into the black marshes with their alder and willow trees, did Oliver pass his young years.

At the age of seventeen he went to Cambridge University, and was entered at Sydney Sussex College. In the following year his father and maternal grandfather died, leaving his mother at once fatherless and a widow, with six daughters and an only son. This change of circumstances brought Oliver home again from college, to return no more; but to supply, henceforth, as well as he might, his father's place at Huntingdon. He now proceeded to London, and passed a year or two in law studies. In 1620, at the age of twenty-one, he married Miss Elizabeth Boucher, and returned to Huntingdon to assume the care of his mother and her family, and to manage the paternal estate, which was now his own. And here dwelt Oliver during the next ten years of his life, living in retirement, occupying himself with farming and the various social duties incident to his position in life.

CHAPTER II.

Forming Years of Life — Religious Awakening — Distress
— Conversion — Deep Devotion — Religious Associates —
Testimonials.

OF unutterable importance are the ten years from twenty to thirty in the life of a man. To a very great extent may they be reckoned the forming years—the years when the youth takes shape for life, perhaps for eternal ages. Full often it is the pivotal period; and as the needle to the pole, so the man becomes settled for his life-long course and for his immortal career.

Thus was it with Oliver Cromwell. Early, amid these years, he became deeply interested in religious things. He came to a pungent conviction, such as he never felt before, that he was a sinner against God. “Ere long,” writes one of his biographers, “he felt in his heart the prickings of God’s law. It disclosed to him his inward sin. With St. Paul, he was disposed to cry out, ‘O wretched man that I am; who shall deliver me from the body of this death?’ And like Luther, pacing the

galleries of his convent at Erfurth, exclaiming, 'My sin! my sin! my sin!' Oliver, agitated and heart-wrung, uttering groans and cries as of a wounded spirit, wandered, pale and dejected, along the gloomy banks of the Ouse. He looked for consolation to God, to his Bible, and to friends more enlightened than himself. His health, and even his strong frame, were shaken; and, in his melancholy, he would often send at midnight for Dr. Simcott, physician in Huntingdon, supposing himself to be dying. At length peace entered into his soul."

"It is, therefore, in these years," says Mr. Carlyle, "that we must place what Oliver, with unspeakable joy, would name his conversion—his deliverance from the jaws of eternal death. Certainly a grand epoch for a man; properly the one epoch. He was henceforth a Christian man; not on Sundays only, but on all days, in all places, and in all cases."*

The sequel will amply illustrate the truth of this last statement. Few men, in all history, seem to have been more completely under the influence of religion than was Cromwell from

* D'Aubigné's Vindication, p. 31.

the period of his conversion to the day of his death. A constant attendant upon the Puritan ministry,* he embraced all the strictness and fervor of spiritual Christianity, and was a companion of all, of every class, who zealously feared and served the Lord. Such historic names as Hampden, Pym, Lord Brook, Lord Say, and Lord Montague, were his intimate friends; and the great Milton—who was his contemporary, and knew him well—writes of him that “He had grown up in peace and privacy at home, silently cherishing in his heart a confidence in God, and a magnanimity well adapted for the solemn times that were approaching. Although of ripe years, he had not yet stepped forward into public life; and nothing so much distinguished him from all around as the cultivation of a pure religion and the integrity of his life.”†

Says another author: “Oliver was, henceforth, a Christian in earnest. . . . A new birth had given him a new life. He was at

* The Puritan Christians were so called in derision, on account of their professing to follow the *pure* word of God, in opposition to all traditions and superstitions. The sect arose in England in the reign of Elizabeth.

† *Défensio Secunda*.

peace with God; he possessed the spirit of adoption, and an easy access to the throne of grace. From that time he became a man of prayer, and so he remained for the rest of his life." "In regard to the kingdom of heaven, he had learned that it is the violent who take it by force; and with the whole energy of his soul, regenerated by the Holy Ghost, he had seized upon it. Oliver was now a real Christian; he remained one to his latest breath; and, if we except a few moments of trouble, to which the most godly men are subject, he persevered in faith and confidence till his course of mortality was completed." *

CHAPTER III.

Cromwell in Parliament — Maiden Speech — Result — "What are we to expect?" — His Course Foreshadowed — Personal Appearance.

IN 1628 was the third parliament summoned by Charles I.; and Oliver Cromwell, at the age of twenty-nine, was a member of the House of

* D'Aubigné.

Commons for Huntingdon. It was a notable parliament, and strongly distinguished by the increasing friction between the Commons and the king, and the struggle for ascendancy between Protestantism and Popery.

At the second session of this parliament, in the following year, Cromwell gave his maiden speech. It is to be regretted that a small fragment only of this speech found its way into history. But the record of this fragment is preserved in the British Museum, and is a "world famous utterance." He said he had heard, by relation of one Dr. Beard, (who had been Oliver's old schoolmaster at Huntingdon,) "that Dr. Alabaster had preached flat Popery at Paul's Cross; and that the Bishop of Winchester had commanded him, as his diocesan, that he should preach nothing to the contrary. Mainwaring, so justly censured in this House for his sermons, was, by the same bishop's means, preferred to a rich living." "If these are the steps to Church preferment," he added with emphasis, "what are we to expect?" What else was included in this first speech of Cromwell is now unknown. But the speech was effectual; for it was immediately ordered

that "Dr. Beard, of Huntingdon, be written to by Mr. Speaker to come up and testify against the bishop, the order to be delivered to Mr. Cromwell."

"What are we to expect?" asked Cromwell. Whether he proceeded to reply to this tremendous question of his the record saith not. But of the great thoughts and solemn misgivings that were then agitating his mind who can fail to guess. "What are we to expect?" asked Oliver; and this was, in truth, the great question of the age. "The re-establishment of Popery was the object of the seventeenth century, and Cromwell's first public words were against it. He then set up the landmark which determined and marked out the course he had resolved to follow until his death. Even Hume, generally so hostile to him, is struck by seeing his first words correspond so exactly to his character." *

Cromwell was, at this time, thirty years of age; and as he rose to speak, for the first time, all eyes were turned upon him, and the House listened with great attention. His eloquence "was warm and animated; his frame, although

* D'Aubigné.

exceeding the middle height, strong and well proportioned. He had a manly air, a bright and sparkling eye, and stern look.” *

CHAPTER IV.

The Eleven Years' Interim — Public Distress — Cromwell's Removal — Pursuits — Interior Life — Moses in Midian.

THIS speech of Cromwell occurred February 2, 1629; and about three weeks afterward the parliament was prorogued by the king, and no other parliament was summoned by him for eleven years. During this long interval, the king with his council attempted to rule the country without any representation from the people. Much oppression and disorder were the consequence; and under the influence of Charles, his popish queen, and the infamous Archbishop Laud, Puritanism, Presbyterianism, and Protestantism generally were discountenanced and discouraged. Numbers of good men were subjected to mean persecutions and detestable punishments for what in their character and conduct was commendable rather

* Memoirs of Warwick.

than criminal, and the endeavor seemed to be the re-establishment of popery in the kingdom.

Cromwell, amid these unhappy years, was in the peaceful pursuit of his farming interests. Having sold his properties, in part, at Huntingdon, he had, with a view of more enlarged operations, removed to St. Ives, five miles down the river from Huntingdon, where he rented extensive grazing lands, and made his residence with his rising family during several years. "A studious imagination may sufficiently construct the figure of his equable life in those years. Diligent grass-farming; mowing, milking, cattle marketing; add 'hypochondria,' fits of the blackness of darkness, with glances of the brightness of very heaven; prayer, religious reading, and meditation; household epochs, joys and cares—we have a solid, substantial, inoffensive farmer of St. Ives, hoping to walk with integrity, and humble, devout diligence through this world; and, by his Maker's infinite mercy, to escape destruction, and find eternal salvation in wider divine worlds. This latter—this is the grand clause in his life which dwarfs all other clauses. Much wider destinies than he anticipated were appointed him on earth; but that,

in comparison to the alternative of heaven or hell, was a mighty small matter." *

Probably something not very unlike the above picture, by Mr. Carlyle, was the exterior and interior life of Cromwell during his five years residence at St. Ives. Along these and several subsequent years he seems to us like Moses in Midian, hid away from public view, and utterly unconscious of the great and arduous career for which Providence was preparing him. There is full evidence that he was a deeply devoted Christian, and actuated by a quenchless zeal for the promotion of pure religion. Meanwhile, it is not to be doubted that the persecutions and sufferings heaped upon many good men amid these few years, filled Cromwell's heart with intensest emotions, and were helping, in no slight degree, to educate him for the prodigious struggle he was destined to wage against the tyranny and intolerance of the reigning sovereign and his creatures.

* Carlyle, i, 66.

CHAPTER V.

A Letter — Humility — Religious Experience — Faith —
Gratitude — A Critic — The Critic rebuked.

THERE is one other notice of Cromwell amid these ten or eleven years of his retirement and obscurity. It consists of the following letter of his, written at Ely, which was now his residence, dated October 13, 1638, and addressed to a cousin, Mrs. St. John.

“DEAR COUSIN: I thankfully acknowledge your love in your kind remembrance of me upon this opportunity. Alas! you do too highly prize my lines and my company. I may be ashamed to own your expressions, considering how unprofitable I am, and the mean improvement of my talent; yet to honor my God by declaring what he hath done for my soul, in this I am confident, and I will be so. Truly, then, this I find, that he giveth springs in a dry, barren wilderness where no water is. I live, you know where, in Meshec, which, they say, signifies *prolonging*; in Kedar, which signifies *blackness*: yet the Lord forsaketh me

not ; though he do prolong, yet he will, I trust, bring me to his tabernacle, to his resting-place. My soul is with the congregation of the first-born, my body rests in hope ; and if here I may honor my God, either by doing or suffering, I shall be most glad.

“ Truly no poor creature hath more cause to put himself forth in the cause of his God than I. I have had plentiful wages beforehand, and I am sure I shall never earn the least mite. The Lord accept me in his Son, and give me to walk in the light, as he is in the light. He it is that enlighteneth our blackness, our darkness. I dare not say, He hideth his face from me. He giveth me to see light in his light. One beam in a dark place hath exceeding much refreshment in it. Blessed be his name for shining upon so dark a heart as mine ! You know what my manner of life hath been. O, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated light ; I was a chief, the chief of sinners. This is true. I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me. O the riches of his mercy ! Praise him for me ; pray for me, that he who hath begun a good work would perfect it in the day of Christ.

“Salute all my friends in that family whereof you are yet a member. I am much bound unto them for their love. I bless the Lord for them; and that my son, by their procurement, is so well. Let him have your prayers, your counsel; let me have them. Salute your husband and sister from me. He is not a man of his word! He promised to write about Mr. Wrath, of Epping; but, as yet, I receive no letters. Put him in mind to do what with conveniency may be done for the poor cousin I did solicit him about.

“Once more farewell. The Lord be with you; so prayeth your truly loving cousin,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”

Mark Noble, one of Cromwell's biographers, thinks he discovers in this letter the evidence that its author was once a very dissolute man. The scathing which this sapient critic receives from Carlyle's pen is as just as it is terrible: “O my reverend, imbecile friend, hadst thou thyself never any moral life, but only a sensitive and digestive? Thy soul never longed toward the serene heights, all hidden from thee; and thirsted as the hart in dry places

wherein no waters be! It was never a sorrow for thee that the eternal pole-star had gone out, veiled itself in dark clouds; a sorrow only that this or the other noble patron forgot thee when a living fell vacant! I have known Christians, Moslems, Methodists,* and, alas! also reverend irreverent apes by the Dead Sea." The same writer adds: "O modern reader, dark as this letter may seem, I will advise thee to make an attempt toward understanding it. There is in it a tradition of humanity worth all the rest; indisputable certificate that man once had a soul; that man once walked with God, his little life a sacred island girdled with eternities and godhoods. Was it not a time for heroes? Heroes were then possible. . . . Yes, there is a tone in the soul of this Oliver that holds of the perennial. With a noble sorrow, with a noble patience, he longs toward the mark of the prize of the high calling. He, I think, has chosen the better part. The world and its wild tumults—if they will but let him alone! Yet he, too, will venture, will do and suffer for God's cause if the call come. What man with better reason? He hath had plentiful wages before-

* A Classification quite Carlylean!

hand ; snatched out of darkness into marvelous light, he will never earn the least mite. . . . Brother, hadst thou never, in any form, such moments in thy history ? Thou knowest them not, even by credible rumor ? Well, thy earthly path was peaceabler, I suppose. But the highest was never in thee, the highest will never come out of thee. Thou shalt at best abide by the stuff ; as cherished house-dog guard the stuff—perhaps with enormous gold collars and provender ; but the battle, and the hero-death, and victory's fire chariot carrying men to the immortals shall never be thine. I pity thee ; brag not, or I shall have to despise thee.” *

CHAPTER VI.

King Charles — Assembles a Parliament — Cromwell a Member for Cambridge — Parliament dismissed — “ Long Parliament ” — Cromwell again a Member — His Appearance and Dress — Petition and Remonstrance — Great Debate — Cromwell's Declaration.

It is now 1640, and the long parliamentary interregnum of eleven years is about to close.

King Charles is bent upon carrying war

* Carlyle, i, 98-100.

into Presbyterian Scotland, for the purpose of enforcing episcopacy upon that people. With this great folly commenced the troubles and commotions that ended only with the king's losing his head.

Failing to secure supplies for an army, Charles was obliged, with great reluctance, to summon a parliament, which assembled April 13th. But being not sufficiently prompt to furnish to the king the sinews of war, he "dismissed it in a huff," after a session of three weeks only, and decided upon other means and methods of raising money and an army.

Cromwell was a member of this short parliament for Cambridge, as also of the next parliament, which the king was obliged to assemble in the same year.

This famous body, called the Long Parliament, met on the 3d of November, 1640; and Cromwell was in his seat in the House of Commons, "the member for Cambridge, a man of known zeal, good connection, and growing weight," and forty-one years of age.

If one would gain some impression of the personal appearance of Cromwell at this time let him note the following sketch, written by



Court of Charles I.

Sir Philip Warwick, a fellow-member, but of a very different genius from that of Oliver. "The first time I ever took notice of Mr. Cromwell," says Warwick, "was in the very beginning of the parliament held in November, 1640, when I, a member for Radnor, vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman, for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes. I came into the House one morning, Monday morning, well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking whom I knew not, very ordinarily appareled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar. His hat was without a hat-band. His stature was of a good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervor; for the subject-matter would not bear much of reason, it being on behalf of a servant of Mr. Prynne's who had dispersed libels—yes, libels, and had come to palace-yard for it, as we saw. I sincerely profess it lessened much my reverence

unto that great council, for this gentleman was very much hearkened unto."

Mr. Carlyle comments thus upon the above sketch: "The 'band,' we may remind our readers, is a linen tippet, properly the shirt-collar of those days; which, when the hair was worn long, needed to fold itself with a good expanse of washable linen over the upper works of the coat, and defend these and their velvets from harm. The 'specks of blood,' if not fabulous, we, not without general sympathy, attribute to bad razors; as for the hat-band, one remarks that men did not speak with their hats on, and therefore will, with Sir Philip's leave, omit that. The 'untunable voice,' or what a poor young gentleman in such circumstances would consider as such, is very significant to us."*

Some months after this, occurred the great Irish rebellion and massacre; and that country, under popish influence, was ravaged with fearful bloodshed and desolation. This was followed, in the House of Commons, with the famous "Petition and Remonstrance" to the king, setting forth the griefs, necessities, and

* Carlyle, i, 108, 109.

requirements of the people. It was drawn up in precise business order, comprising two hundred and six articles, "every line of which thrilled electrically into all men's hearts." The debate upon this instrument commenced November 22, and was the longest and stormiest that had ever been known in parliament; and Warwick asserts "that had it not been for Mr. Hampden's soft management we had like to have sheathed our swords in each other's bowels." The Remonstrance passed by the small majority of eleven; and as they came out, at two o'clock in the morning, Cromwell, as he was descending the stairs, is reported to have exclaimed, "I would have sold all and gone to New England had the Remonstrance not passed." The stream of history would have assumed a different channel had that intention become reality.

CHAPTER VII.

Dark Portents — Folly of the King — Demands upon Parliament — Unsuccessful — Great Excitement — King leaves London — Preparations for War — Cromwell awake — Himself and Sons enter the Army — Sad Partings — Magnitude of the Cause.

THE commencement of 1642 was an era in British history. The king and the parliament became pitted against each other; and clouds were gathering thickly and rapidly, and the storm would soon burst upon the country. "Every day those men who felt the truest affection for their country were disturbed in their homes at London, or in their more tranquil rural retreats, by reports of the massacre of the Protestants in Ireland, of the king's connivance at it, of his insincerity and falsehood, of his projects, of the punishments already inflicted upon many of their brethren, of the acknowledged popery of the queen, of the semi-Romanism of the king, of the persecutions in Scotland, the daily banishments of the best Christians in the kingdom, and by other signs and events no less alarming." *

* D'Aubigné's Vindication.

Charles commenced the actual contest. On the 3d of January (1642) he called upon the House of Commons to surrender to him, to be tried for treason, five of its principal and most influential members; namely, Pym, Hampden, Hazlerig, Holles, and Strode. This singular requisition not being immediately complied with, on the morrow the king "rides down to St. Stephens himself, with an armed, very miscellaneous force of five hundred or of three hundred truculent, braggadocio persons at his back; enters the House of Commons—the truculent persons looking in after him from the lobby—with intent to seize the said five members, five principal hot coals, and trample them out for one thing. It was the fatalest step this poor king ever took. The five members, timefully warned, were gone into the city; the whole parliament removed itself into the city, 'to be safe from armed violence.' From London city, and from all England, rose one loud voice of lamentation and condemnation;"* that is, condemnation of the king.

The signal for war was thus raised, and Charles immediately left London, never to

* Carlyle, i, 120, 121.

return except as a helpless prisoner. The revolution was commenced. Both parties, the king and the parliament, at once proceed to rally their forces. Extraordinary exertions are put forth on both sides to provide the means and sinews of war: the king, by subscriptions of royal plate, pawning of crown jewels, and every other possible way; the parliament, by similar means, by individual subscriptions of money and otherwise.

Cromwell is on the alert in this great crisis. He subscribes £500 (\$2,500) for the service of the Commonwealth. Nor was this all, nor the chief. He gave *himself* for the great contest; and two sons also, of the ages of twenty and sixteen, followed their father to the field of conflict. "The departure of his sons, Oliver and Richard, must have caused great sorrow in the peaceful abode of the Huntingdon farmer. With difficulty could these young men tear themselves from the embraces of their mother and of their sisters. But the hour was come when their country called for the greatest sacrifices. All must now be prepared either to stretch their necks to the sword or to bow them beneath the yoke of the pope. Cromwell's domestic society

was a pleasing one; he had a wife whom he loved most tenderly; his good mother was still living; he had passed the age of ambition, yet he became a soldier. 'You have had my money; I hope in God, I desire to venture my skin.' 'So do mine,' said he, with noble simplicity, on another occasion.

"For the space of fifteen years, from this day until that of his death, all his thoughts, however well or ill conceived, were for Protestantism, and for the liberty of his fellow-citizens.

"It is from this moral point of view that we must study Cromwell; this was his ruling principle, and this alone explains his whole life.

"Can we look upon the departure of the Huntingdon volunteers as an insignificant event?

"There was a great work to be accomplished, no less than the settlement of England upon its double foundations of Protestantism and Liberty, for on these depended her future destinies. Where was the man to be found great enough for so important a task?" *

* D'Aubigné, pp. 44, 45.

CHAPTER VIII.

Lord Digby — "That Sloven" — Hampden's remarkable Reply — The Providential Man — Confused Views of him — The True View Important.

THE momentous question at the close of the last chapter had its solution in Oliver Cromwell. "One day a member rose and addressed the House in an abrupt but warm tone. His appearance was anything but courtly, and his dress did not add to his importance. Lord Digby leaned forward, and with astonishment inquired the name of the speaker. Hampden, who was a man of excellent abilities, and whom, said Baxter, 'friends and enemies acknowledged to be the most eminent for prudence,' answered with a smile: 'That sloven whom you see before you, who hath no ornament in his speech; that sloven, I say, if we should ever come to a breach with the king, (which God forbid!) in such a case, I say, that sloven will be the greatest man in England.'

"The sloven was Oliver Cromwell. To those who, like his Cousin Hampden, had en-

joyed the intimacy of his private life, he had already revealed the strength of his will and the greatness of his genius, and he was then beginning to manifest both to the nation in his parliamentary life. Ere long, in his military and political career, he was to make himself known to the world as the greatest man of his age; but, at the same time, as a godly Christian." *

Without question, we think, this was the providential man—the one man for the time—the man who with a transcendent genius, an iron will, a God-fearing spirit, and a mighty arm, was to come forth to crush civil and religious tyranny, and assert the great principles of Protestant liberty for the welfare of mankind.

And it impresses the writer as being important that the youth of this generation, and especially American youth, should secure the true standpoint for viewing the character and the exact drift of this wonderful man. Surely for such a view the ingenuous and thoughtful mind must draw off from the calumnies, fogs, and confusion which for several generations

* D'Aubigné.

have been permitted to blur and deface the memory of Cromwell.

The spectator must peer solemnly into that great and God-fearing heart, must follow carefully and constantly the direction of that keen and far-reaching eye, and note most religiously whither tend those heavy and sublime steppings. To such a vision and such a candor the veritable genius and character of this man will stand forth clearly revealed ; and, though having some spots, yet resplendent with beauty and grandeur.

CHAPTER IX.

Royal Standard erected at Nottingham — King calls to Arms — Parliamentary Army — Cromwell's Proposal — He hastens to Cambridge — Great Military Preparations — Cromwell's Military Position and Character — Battle of Edgehill — Cromwell's Plan — Results.

ON the 22d of August, 1642, Charles I. erected at Nottingham his standard, and summoned his subjects to arms ; that is, summoned a part of his subjects to arms against the other part. At a short distance from the same place the earl of Essex was organizing the parliamentary army.

About a month previous to the above date, (July 15,) Cromwell, in his place in the House of Commons, moved to allow the townsmen of Cambridge to raise two companies of volunteers, and to appoint captains over them. Presently Cromwell is in Cambridge in person, assuming the chief management of the volunteers, seizing the magazine in the castle at Cambridge, and preventing the withdrawal of the plate from the University. "The like," says Carlyle, "was going on in all the shires of England; wherever the parliament had a zealous member, it sent him down to his shire in these critical months, to take what management he could or durst. The most confused months England ever saw. In every shire, in every parish—in court-houses, ale-houses, churches, markets—wheresoever men were gathered together, England, with sorrowful confusion in every fiber, is tearing itself into hostile halves, to carry on the voting by pike and bullet henceforth." *

Thus begins the military career of Oliver Cromwell. He was an active and influential member of parliament; but as the storm arose his spirit was stirred within him, and he could

* Carlyle, i.

not rest away from the scene of conflict. So was it with his illustrious cousin, John Hampden, who entered the service as a colonel—Cromwell as captain. Yet, from the outset, Oliver was not merely a captain. He was at the ripe age of forty-three, the precise age of Washington when he assumed the command of the American army. His views were broad, his patriotism excelled by none, and his vigilant eye was everywhere; and his mind grasped the “situation,” and comprehended fully and at a glance the immense interests at stake. And then his brave heart feared no enemy, whether high or low, whether of himself or of his country.

It was not possible, of course, that such a man could long remain in a mere captaincy. Like our own distinguished chief general, he soon cut his way upward by successive and successful steps, till he surpassed all others in military achievement, and stood forth the one great and peerless commander.

The first great battle of this civil war was fought at Edgehill, October 23, 1642. It was a severe fight, and the result seems to have been doubtful, both the royalists and the par-

liamentarians claiming the victory. Cromwell at once, as he thought, detected the cause of weakness in the parliamentary army, and proceeded to remedy it. Addressing Col. Hampden, he said, "How can we be otherwise than beaten? Your troops are, most of them, old, decayed serving-men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and theirs are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality. But I will remedy that. I will raise men who will have the fear of God before their eyes, and who will bring some conscience to what they do; and I promise you they shall not be beaten." Hampden replied that it was a good notion if it could be executed. Cromwell at once set himself about the execution of his plan. "With this design he went through the eastern counties, calling upon the young freeholders, with whose piety he was acquainted, to take up arms in the cause of God. Fourteen squadrons of zealous Protestants were soon raised. It was this new element that decided the destinies of the war and of England. From that hour the course of events was changed."*

Amid this army of zealous Protestants and

* D'Aubigné.

Christians the religious character of Cromwell soon begins to manifest itself.

Says Clarendon, a royalist and an enemy: "His (Cromwell's) strict and unsociable humor would not allow him to keep company with the other officers and their jollities and excesses, which often made him ridiculous and contemptible." And this same historian afterward informs us that Cromwell, instead of frequenting the dissolute meetings alluded to, passed his leisure hours in singing psalms with the officers and soldiers who participated in his religious convictions, and in attending with them on the preaching of the word. D'Aubigné, alluding to these notices of Cromwell by Clarendon, spiritedly remarks, that "if Oliver had been a gambler and a drunkard, if he had practiced the perfidious art of seducing innocence, if he had taken part in *jollities* and *excesses*, it would have been all very well; he would have been a good *cavalier*. These are the men whom the world loves, and for whom historians and romance writers keep all their favor. But he loved the assemblings of the saints, according to St. Paul's command. In his hours of repose he delighted to follow the precept of this apostle:

‘Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess, but be filled with the Spirit; speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord.’ Eph. v, 18, 19. From that hour he was held a *contemptible* man; and, for two hundred years, all this servile, imitating race of historians have continued to repeat this absurdity, not to say impiety. ‘*Contemptible!*’ says Clarendon. It may well be so; but Cromwell is not the only man who has been undervalued for avoiding bad company, and for not having trod in the way of sinners. David, St. Paul, and all Christian men have been contemned like him, and for the same reasons. But it is written in the revelations of God: ‘Woe unto them that call evil good and good evil.’ Isaiah v, 20. We do not think that these false judgments, thus stigmatized by the divine word, have ever been practiced on a larger scale than in the case of Cromwell.”*

* D’Aubigné’s Vindication.

CHAPTER X.

Hampden killed in Battle — His excellent Character — Battle of Marston Moor — Great Slaughter — King Defeated — "Ironsides" — Letter of Cromwell.

CROMWELL is now (1643) a colonel, and exerting himself to the utmost. There are various skirmishes here and there, and the cause of the parliament appears rather dubious along these months.

On the 18th of June, in a cavalry skirmish near Oxford, the excellent Hampden received a mortal wound, and died a few days afterward. In all that was true, respectable, judicious, dignified, noble, and brave, he was excelled by none of the parliamentary chiefs, and his fall was deeply and sorely lamented. To his kinsman, Cromwell, whose son Oliver had fallen some time before, this new calamity must have been mournful in the extreme.

In January of the next year (1644) a Scotch army entered England to co-operate with the army of the parliament. The combined forces at once commenced the siege of York, defended

by the Marquis of Newcastle, and on the 2d of July following occurred the great battle of Marston Moor. This battle seems to have been the bloodiest of the whole war. "The most enormous hurly burly of firearms, smoke, and steel flashings, and death tumult ever seen in those regions; the end of which, about ten o'clock at night, was four thousand one hundred and fifty bodies to be buried, and total ruin to the king's affairs in these northern parts."* Cromwell's cavalry performed prodigies of valor in this terrible fight; and the epithet *Ironsides* was conferred upon them on the battle-field. The king's army "lost more than a hundred flags, which it was proposed to send to the parliament; but they were torn in pieces by the conquerors, and bound as trophies round their arms."†

To his brother-in-law, Col. Walton, Cromwell addresses the following letter just after the fight:

"DEAR SIR: It's our duty to sympathize in all mercies, and to praise the Lord together in chastisements or trials, that so we may sorrow together.

* Carlyle.

† D'Aubigné.

“Truly England and the Church of God hath had a great favor from the Lord in this great victory given unto us, such as the like never was since this war began. It had all the evidences of an absolute victory obtained by the Lord’s blessing upon the godly party principally. We never charged but we routed the enemy. The left wing, which I commanded, being our own horse, saving a few Scots in our rear, beat all the prince’s horse.

“God made them as stubble to our swords. We charged their regiments of foot with our horse, and routed all we charged. The particulars I cannot relate now; but, I believe, of twenty thousand the prince hath not four thousand left. Give glory, all the glory, to God.

“Sir, God hath taken away your eldest son by a cannon shot. It broke his leg. We were necessitated to have it cut off, whereof he died.

“Sir, you know my own trials this way; but the Lord supported me in this, that the Lord took him into the happiness we all pant for and live for. There is your precious child full of glory, never to know sin or sorrow any more. He was a gallant young man, exceedingly

gracious. God give you his comfort. Before his death he was so full of comfort that to Frank Russel and myself he could not express it, 'It was so great above his pain.' This he said to us. Indeed it was admirable. A little after, he said one thing lay upon his spirit. I asked him what that was. He told me it was that God had not suffered him to be any more the executioner of his enemies. At his fall his horse was killed with the bullet, and, as I am informed, three horses more. I am told he bid them open to right and left that he might see the rogues run. Truly he was exceedingly beloved in the army of all that knew him. But few knew him; for he was a precious young man, fit for God. You have cause to bless the Lord.

"He is a glorious saint in heaven, wherein you ought exceedingly to rejoice. Let this drink up your sorrow, seeing these are not feigned words to comfort you, but the thing is so real and undoubted a truth.

"You may do all things by the strength of Christ. Seek that, and you shall easily bear your trial. Let this public mercy to the Church of God make you to forget your private sorrow. The Lord be your strength."

CHAPTER XI.

Cromwell as a Commander — Chateaubriand's and Milton's Testimony — Cromwell's Impatience with Dilatory Officers and Movements — His Protest in Parliament — Speech in Committee of the Whole — Urges the most Vigorous Efforts.

It was now evident that Oliver Cromwell was destined to be the great leader in this war. Though as yet holding no position higher than that of colonel, he gave evidence of the highest military abilities. "There was no officer in the army who braved danger with greater intrepidity. In the very heat of the action he preserved admirable presence of mind. He led his soldiers up to within a few paces of the enemy, and never allowed them to fire until their shots were sure to take effect. At the same time he maintained the strictest discipline in the army. The troops under his command thought themselves sure of victory, and, in fact, he never lost a battle." *

"His actions," said Chateaubriand, "had all the rapidity and effect of lightning. . . .

D'Aubigné.

There was a certain invincibility in his genius, like the new ideas of which he was the champion."

Says Milton, "From his thorough exercise in the art of self-knowledge, he had either exterminated or subjugated his domestic foes, his idle hopes, his fears, and his desires. Having thus learned to engage, and subdue, and triumph over himself, he took the field against his outward enemies—a soldier practiced in all the discipline of war." *

With such a character and genius, joined with a zeal profoundly earnest and sincere for the cause of the parliament, and what he considered to be the cause of true liberty and prosperity of his country, it is not at all wonderful that Cromwell waxes impatient at the dilatory movements and want of success on the part of some of his superior officers. The earl of Essex, the generalissimo of the parliament forces, was meeting with reverses in the west, while Cromwell and his fellow-soldiers were so successful in the north. In fact, the history of this period brings strikingly to mind a trying crisis in the late war of the

* Chateaubriand.

rebellion, and certain high officers that were prominent in those somber days.

Cromwell, for example, has left temporarily his regiment of *Ironsides* a short time after the great battle of Marston Moor, and is again in the House of Commons; for he is still a legislator as well as a soldier. He rises in his place, November 25, and presents a charge against one of his superior officers, the earl of Manchester, as follows: "That the said earl hath always been indisposed and backward to engagements, and the ending of the war by the sword; and 'always' *for* such a peace as a thorough victory would be a disadvantage to; and hath declared this by principles express to that purpose, and by a continued series of carriage and actions answerable; that since the taking of York, as if the parliament had now advantage fully enough, he hath declined whatsoever tended to further advantage upon the enemy, hath neglected and studiously shifted off opportunities to that purpose, as if he thought the king too low and the parliament too high—especially at Dennington Castle; that he hath drawn the army into, and detained them in such a posture as to give the enemy

fresh advantages; and this before his conjunction with the other armies, by his own absolute will, against or without his council of war, against many commands of the Committee of Both Kingdoms, and with contempt and vilifying of those commands; and *since* the conjunction, sometimes against the councils of war, and sometimes by persuading and deluding the council to neglect one opportunity with pretense of another, and this again of a third, and at last by persuading them that it was not fit to fight at all." *

A few days afterward the Commons, sitting in committee of the whole, and deliberating upon the delicate matter of superseding one or two of the principal army officers, after long silence, "one looking upon the other to see who would break the ice," Cromwell rose up and spake to this effect:

"It is now a time to speak or forever hold the tongue. The important occasion now is no less than to save a nation out of a bleeding, nay, almost dying condition, which the long continuance of this war hath already brought it into; so that without a more speedy, vigorous,

* Rushworth, quoted by Carlyle.

and effectual prosecution of the war—casting off all lingering proceedings like those of soldiers of fortune beyond sea, to spin out a war—we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a parliament. . . . I am far from reflecting on any. I know the worth of those commanders, members of both houses, who are yet in power; but if I may speak my conscience without reflection upon any, I do conceive that if the army be not put into another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will enforce to you a dishonorable peace.”

Thus, when amid this great struggle, it was no part of Cromwell’s genius or policy to seek and maneuver “how not to do it;” but he was for “moving at once upon the enemy’s works,” and bringing the conflict to a conclusion at the earliest possible date.

CHAPTER XII.

Self-denying Ordinance — Cromwell appointed Lieutenant-General — Battle of Naseby—Another great Victory — Cromwell's Report to Parliament—Commendation of the Soldiers — The Battle decisive — King's Treachery revealed.

EARLY in 1645, the famous "Self-denying Ordinance" passed both houses of parliament. By this ordinance all members of parliament were excluded from commands in the army, and Cromwell, of course, prepared to take leave of his general, Fairfax. "But circumstances, which seemed to proceed from the hand of God, prevented him. Hostilities broke out afresh, and Oliver did not think it right, at such a moment, to return his sword into the scabbard. He rushed upon the enemy at the head of his Puritans, and everywhere the cavaliers fled before him. Fairfax declared that he could not dispense with him."

"Indeed, to Fairfax and his officers, to the parliament, to the Committee of both Kingdoms, to all persons, it is clear that Cromwell cannot be dispensed with. Fairfax and the

officers petition parliament that he may be appointed their lieutenant-general, commander in chief of the horse. There is a clear necessity in it. Parliament, the Commons somewhat more readily than the Lords, continue, by installments of 'forty days,' of 'three months,' his services in the army; and, at length, grow to regard him as a constant element there. . . . There is trace of evidence that Cromwell's continuance in the army had, even by the framers of the Self-denying Ordinance, been considered a thing possible, a thing desirable: it well might! To Cromwell himself there was no overpowering felicity in getting out to be shot at, except where wanted; he very probably, as Sprigge intimates, did let the matter in silence take its own course."*

On the 14th of June was fought the great battle of Naseby; of which Cromwell, on the same night, forwards to parliament the following account:

"We marched yesterday after the king, who went before us from Daventry to Harborough, and quartered about six miles from him. This day we marched toward him. He drew out to

* Carlyle.

meet us ; both armies engaged. We, after three hours' fight, very doubtful, at last routed his army ; killed and took about five thousand—very many officers, but of what quality we yet know not. We took also about two hundred carriages, all he had, and all his guns, being twelve in number. . . . Sir, this is none other but the hand of God ; and to him alone belongs the glory, wherein none are to share with him. The general served you with all faithfulness and honor ; and the best commendation I can give him is, that, I dare say, he attributes all to God, and would rather perish than assume it to himself—which is an honest and a thriving way. And yet as much for bravery may be given to him, in this action, as to a man. Honest men served you faithfully in this action. Sir, they are trusty ; I beseech you, in the name of God, not to discourage them. I wish this action may beget thankfulness and humility in all that are concerned in it. He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he may trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he fights for.”

This was a decisive battle, and fatal to the royalists. “The king fought desperately, but

lost his private cabinet of papers and letters, which were sent to London, where it was carefully examined by the parliament. In it they found the clearest proofs that, notwithstanding his frequent denials, he was perpetually soliciting the aid of foreign princes, and that he had protested against the name of parliament which he had given to the two Houses. These documents, which were published under the title of "The King's Cabinet Opened," entirely ruined Charles in the minds of his people. There is a justice in heaven which permits neither kings nor the humblest of their subjects to live by falsehood and to make a mockery of oaths. By his deception and perjury Charles had forfeited the respect of many who were desirous to maintain the dignity of the throne, and from this period no hope remained." *

* Vindication.

CHAPTER XIII.

Capture of Bristol — Great Spoils — Another Report to Parliament — Cromwell attributes all Success to Divine Help -- His Testimony to the Soldiers' Piety — His Views of Christian Union — A curious Soldier — Comments.

FOLLOWING the great and decisive battle of Naseby was the storming and capture of Bristol, into which Prince Rupert* had shut himself. Here, too, was a great struggle and victory. A great amount of arms and military stores rewarded the victors. The garrison was manned by two thousand five hundred foot, one thousand horse, besides from one to two thousand auxiliaries, all of whom were surrendered.

Cromwell, after reporting to parliament, by direction of his superior officer, a detailed account of the storming and capture of this formidable post, concludes his address as follows: "Thus I have given you a true, but not a full

* A nephew of King Charles, son of his sister Elizabeth, who had married Frederick V., Elector Palatine. He espoused the cause of his uncle, and was a desperate fighter.

account of this great business ; wherein he who runs may read that all this is none other than the work of God. He must be a very atheist that doth not acknowledge it.

“It may be thought that some praises are due to those gallant men of whose valor so much mention is made—their humble suit to you and all that have an interest in this blessing is, that in the remembrance of God’s praises they be forgotten. It’s their joy that they are instruments of God’s glory and their country’s good. It’s their honor that God vouchsafes to use them. Sir, they that have been employed in this service know that faith and prayer obtained this city for you ; I do not say ours only, but of the people of God with you and all England over, who have wrestled with God for a blessing in this very thing. Our desires are that God may be glorified by the same spirit of faith by which we ask all our sufficiency, and have received it. It is meet that he have all the praise. Presbyterians, Independents—all have here the same spirit of faith and prayer, the same presence and answer ; they agree here, have no names of difference ; pity it is it should be otherwise anywhere ! All that

believe have the real unity, which is most glorious ; because inward and spiritual, in the Body and to the Head.* For being united in forms, commonly called uniformity, every Christian will for peace' sake study and do as far as conscience will permit. And for brethren, in things of the mind we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason. In other things, God hath put the sword in the parliament's hands, for the terror of evil doers and the praise of them that do well. If any plead exemption from that, he knows not the Gospel ; if any would wring that out of your hands, or steal it from you under what pretense soever, I hope they shall do it without effect. That God may maintain it in your hands, and direct you in the use thereof, is the prayer of your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL."

What a curious kind of a soldier was this Lieutenant-General Cromwell ! Is it a man of war or a messenger of evangelism that writes this report ? It is both. The sword had leaped from its scabbard, and is uplifted for the terror of evil doers. It is ready to be sheathed when

* "Head" is Christ ; "Body," Church of Christ.

the enemies of peace and true religion are vanquished.

D'Aubigné thus comments on the report of General Cromwell :

“These are remarkable words. Glory to God in heaven ; union among the children of God upon earth. Such are the general's two grand thoughts. How far superior he shows himself to the petty quarrels which then divided the Presbyterians and the Independents ! At the same time he distinguishes with great precision between spiritual and temporal things. According to his views, love should prevail in the one, the sword in the other. Full of charity toward his brethren, rejecting every restraint upon religion, and proclaiming the great principles of liberty of conscience, how terrible he appears with his sword in his hand !” *

* Vindication.

CHAPTER XIV.

Further Successes—Winchester Captured—Report of the Capture—Cromwell's Magnanimity to the Enemy—Capture of Basing House—Hugh Peter's Testimony of Cromwell—Close of first Civil War—Royalists defeated—King goes to the Scots—Cromwell returns to Parliament.

THE war goes on. From the capture of Bristol, the army turns southward to grapple with the remaining forces of royalism in that region.

“The parliament army went steadily and rapidly on, storming Bridgewater, storming all manner of towns and castles, clearing the ground before them.*”

Cromwell is always in the midst of the forces and the victories—always present in the general or partial fights; and especially renowned by his sieges, and the capture of many strong places.

Amid all this rapidity and brilliancy of successes let us note the manner of spirit characterizing this man of war.

Having, with several regiments, entered Winchester, another of the royalist strongholds, and

* Carlyle.

compelled the castle to surrender, Cromwell thus reports to parliament :

“Sir, this is the addition of another mercy. You see God is not weary in doing you good. I confess, sir, his favor to you is as visible when he comes by his power upon the hearts of your enemies, making them quit places of strength to you, as when he gives courage to your soldiers to attempt hard things. His goodness in this is much to be acknowledged ; for the castle was well manned with six hundred and eighty horse and foot, there being near two hundred gentlemen officers and their servants ; well victualed with fifteen thousand weight of cheese, very great store of wheat and beer ; near twenty barrels of powder, seven pieces of cannon. The works were exceeding good and strong. It’s very likely it would have cost much blood to have gained it by storm. We have not lost twelve men. This is repeated to you that God may have all the praise, for it’s all his due.” Carlyle adds, that “it was at the surrender of Winchester that certain of the captive enemies having complained of being plundered contrary to articles, Cromwell had the accused parties, six of his

own soldiers, tried. Being all found guilty, one of them, by lot, was hanged, and the other five were marched off to Oxford, to be there disposed of as the governor saw fit. The Oxford governor politely returned the five prisoners, with an acknowledgment of the lieutenant-general's nobleness."

Basing House, another strong royalist garrison, is next brought to surrender, October 14, 1645.

Col. Hammond and Mr. Hugh Peters were commanded to carry the news of this victory to the parliament at London. Among other interesting things Mr. Peters states as follows :

"This is now the twentieth garrison that hath been taken in this summer by this army ; and, I believe, most of them the answers of the prayers, and trophies of the faith of some of God's servants. The commander of this brigade, Lieutenant-general Cromwell, had spent much time with God in prayer the night before the storm, and seldom fights without some text of Scripture to support him. This time he rested upon that blessed word of God, written in the one hundred and fifteenth psalm, eighth verse : ' They that make them are like

unto them ; so is everyone that trusteth in them ; which, with some verses going before, was now being accomplished.”

D'Aubigné adds that, “Every day of his life he retired to read the Scriptures and to pray. Those who watched him narrowly relate that, after having perused a chapter in the Bible, he was wont to prostrate himself with his face on the ground, and with tears pour out his soul before God. Who can charge with hypocrisy these inward movements of a soul which pass all knowledge ? For what ‘man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him ?’”

So obvious is it that Oliver Cromwell was a Christian as well as a warrior ; and when he drew his sword it was “for God and liberty.”

Here the war may be said to have closed. The king retired to Oxford, and to obscurity ; a very few places held out till the following year, (1646.) The last of the distinguished royalist generals, Sir Jacob Astley, approaching Oxford with a small force, was beaten and captured. Surrendering himself, the brave veteran is reported to have said to his captors : “You have now done your work ; you may go

to play, unless you will fall out among yourselves."

Shortly after this the king, disguised and in the night, left Oxford, hardly knowing whither he went; but proceeded at length to Newark, and to the Scotch army. About the same time Cromwell returned to his place in parliament, and what may be termed the first civil war was ended.

CHAPTER XV.

Disturbed State of England — King a Prisoner at the Isle of Wight — Royalists — Presbyterians — London Levelers — Divided Parliament — Approach of a Scotch Army — Riots — Cromwell calls to Union — Falls sick — Recovers — Letter to General Fairfax.

FROM 1646 to 1648 there was a cessation of actual hostilities, while yet a disturbed and unhappy state of affairs troubled the people of England. The king had failed to establish his authority; his forces were vanquished mainly by the consummate generalship of Cromwell and the bravery of his invincible *Ironsides*. Charles himself had come into the hands of the parliament, and was now held in durance at

the Isle of Wight. By Cromwell, the army, and the parliament, he was esteemed utterly faithless, and an enemy of his country; and the time was past when they could come to any accommodation with him or he with them. Yet what should be done with him was a problem which seemed difficult of solution; and he seemed to stand as one of the prominent obstacles to the peaceful settlement of the country. Carlyle thus graphically sums up the grand difficulties:

“The small governing party in England, during those early months of 1648, are in a position which might fill the bravest mind with misgivings. Elements of destruction everywhere under and around them; their lot either to conquer or ignominiously to die. A king not to be bargained with; kept in Carisbrooke, the center of all factious hopes, of world-wide intrigues; that is one element. A great royalist party, subdued with difficulty, and ready at all moments to rise again; that is another. A great Presbyterian party, at the head of which is London city, ‘the purse-bearer of the cause,’ highly dissatisfied at the course things had taken, and looking desperately around for new

combinations and a new struggle; reckon that for a third element. Add, lastly, a headlong Mutineer, Republican, or Leveling Party; and consider that there is a working House of Commons which counts about seventy, divided in pretty equal halves too, the rest waiting what will come of it.”*

The same author does not omit to notice still another “element,” namely, the approach of a Scotch army of forty thousand strong, “to deliver the king from sectaries.” This means that a great array of Presbyterians was coming to put down Episcopalians, Independents, Quakers, Republicans, Levelers, and such like.

Meanwhile Cromwell, deeply sensible of the critical state of affairs, exerts himself to the utmost to effect a union of all parties friendly to the cause of the parliament, but with but little effect. Serious disturbances and riots occur, especially in London, and such riots as cannot be put down but by desperate charges of cavalry.

Just amid these somber days, Cromwell was seized with a dangerous illness. On his re-

* Carlyle, i, 251.

covery he thus addresses his superior officer, General Fairfax :

“Sir: It hath pleased God to raise me out of a dangerous sickness ; and I do most willingly acknowledge that the Lord hath, in this visitation, exercised the bowels of a father toward me. I received in myself the sentence of death that I might learn to trust in Him that raiseth from the dead, and have no confidence in the flesh. It’s a blessed thing to die daily. For what is there in this world to be accounted of ! The best men, according to the flesh, are lighter than vanity. I find this only good : To love the Lord and his poor despised people ; to do for them, and to be ready to suffer with them ; and he that is found worthy of this hath obtained great favor from the Lord ; and he that is established in this shall (being confirmed to Christ and the rest of the body) participate in the glory of a resurrection which will answer all.” *

What a way of writing from one general officer to another ! What kind of soldiers were these strange men ! Let us glance into the next chapter and learn still more of them.

* Carlyle, i, 244.

CHAPTER XVI.

A "Protracted Meeting" at Windsor Castle — Prayer — Preaching — Self-searching — Reflection — Great Difficulty discerned — Bitter weeping — Light — A most Solemn Decision.

EARLY in the year 1648, whether before or after the sickness of Cromwell alluded to in the last chapter, the army leaders, described by Carlyle as "The longest heads and the strongest hearts in England," held what, in these modern days, would be called a "protracted meeting," and one of a deeply interesting character. It was, in fact, so interesting that we cannot refrain from quoting one or two extracts descriptive of its proceedings. The report of the said proceedings is by the pen of Adjutant-General Allen, one of the officers of the army, and "a most authentic, earnest man." He writes: "Accordingly we did agree to meet at Windsor Castle about the beginning of '48. And there we spent one day together in prayer, inquiring into the causes of that sad dispensation, (let all men

consider it,) coming to no further result, that day, but that it was^e still our duty to seek. And on the morrow, we met again in the morning, where many spake from the word, and prayed ; and the then Lieutenant-General Cromwell did press very earnestly on all there present to a thorough consideration of our actions as an army, and of our ways particularly as private Christians, to see if any iniquity could be found in them, and what it was ; that if possible we might find out, and so remove the cause of such sad rebukes as were upon us (by reason of our iniquities, as we judged) at that time. And the way more particularly the Lord led us to herein was this : To look back and consider what time it was when, with joint satisfaction, we could last say, to the best of our judgment, the presence of the Lord was among us, and rebukes and judgments were not as then upon us. Which time the Lord led us jointly to find out and agree in ; and, having done so, to proceed, as we then judged it our duty, to search into all our public actions as an army afterward ; duly weighing (as the Lord helped us) each of them, with their grounds, rules, and ends, as near as we could. And so we concluded this

second day with agreeing to meet again on the morrow. Which accordingly we did upon the same occasion, reassuming the consideration of our debates the day before, and reviewing our actions again.

“By which means we were, by a gracious hand of the Lord, led to find out the very steps (as we were all then jointly convinced) by which we had departed from the Lord, and provoked him to depart from us. Which we found to be those cursed carnal conferences our own conceited wisdom, our fears, and want of faith had prompted us, the year before, to entertain with the king and his party. . . .

“And in this path the Lord led us, not only to see our sin, but also our duty; and this so unanimously set with weight upon each heart, that none was hardly able to speak a word to each other for bitter weeping; partly in the sense and shame of our iniquities, of our unbelief, base fear of men, and carnal consultations (as the fruit thereof) with our own wisdom, and not with the word of the Lord, which only is a way of wisdom, strength, and safety, and all besides it are ways of snares; and yet we were also helped, with fear and trembling, to

rejoice in the Lord, whose faithfulness and loving-kindness we were made to see yet failed us not; who remembered us still, even in our low estate, because his mercy endures forever. Who no sooner brought us to his feet, acknowledging him in that way of his, (namely, searching for, being ashamed of, and willing to turn from, our iniquities,) but he did direct our steps; and presently we were led and helped to a clear agreement among ourselves, not any dissenting, that it was the duty of our day, with the forces we had, to go out and fight against those potent enemies which that year in all places appeared against us; with an humble confidence, in the name of the Lord only, that we should destroy them. And we were also enabled there, after serious seeking his face, to come to a very clear and joint resolution, on many grounds at large there debated among us, that it was our duty, if ever the Lord brought us back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for that blood he had shed, and mischief he had done, to his utmost, against the Lord's cause and people in these poor nations.

“And how the Lord led and prospered us in

all our undertakings that year in this way; cutting his work short in righteousness, making it a year of mercy, equal if not transcendent to any since these wars began; and making it worthy of remembrance by every gracious soul who was wise to observe the Lord, and the operations of his hands, I wish may never be forgotten.”*

Carlyle thus comments on the above: “Abysses, black chaotic whirlwinds! does the reader look upon it all as madness? Madness lies close by, as madness does to the highest wisdom in man’s life always; but this is not mad! This dark element, it is the mother of the lightnings and the splendors; it is very sane this!”†

* Carlyle, i, 254–256.

† Letters, i, 357.

CHAPTER XVII.

Heavings and Disquiet—Uprising in Wales and Kent—A Scotch Army approaching—London plotting for the King—Parliament vacillates—Cromwell on the War-path—Dashes upon the Scots—Great Victory at Preston—Report to Parliament—Great Rejoicings—Scots retreat North, followed by Cromwell.

It was well to pray and humble themselves before God; for, as we have seen, there were already heavings, and tumults, and general disquiet. Charles, though a prisoner, was full of intrigue and deception. The cavaliers were plotting with the people. In the spring of 1648 a discontent, hourly becoming more general, announced itself among the Presbyterians and loyalists in Wales and in Kent. Several of the parliamentary officers joined the king's standard. The Scotch army was approaching, prepared to fight for the restoration of Charles. London was raising troops for the same purpose; and even the parliament relented, and voted that fresh negotiations shall immediately be opened with the king at his place of confinement in the Isle of Wight.

Meanwhile Cromwell is again on the war-path. He is soon in Wales at the head of five regiments, and suddenly crushes the rebellious uprisings in the west. Then he hastens northward to checkmate the Scots, who, with an army of twenty thousand strong, are already invading England. His marches are like the lightning. Suddenly the invading cavalry notify the Scotch commander that Cromwell is approaching. "Impossible!" replies the duke, "he has not had time to come." But the outposts were already engaged with the advanced guard of the parliamentary general. Cromwell defeats the royalists, dashes upon the Scots, routs them thoroughly, crosses the river with them, follows them closely as they flee; and, after two days' pursuing and fighting, compels them to surrender. A fortnight's campaign suffices to sweep away the whole northern army. Such was the famous fight of Preston; and the following are the closing sentences of General Cromwell's report of the battle to parliament. It presents another illustration of military success, as also of the spirit of the chief actor:

"Thus you have a narrative of the particulars of the success which God hath given you;

which I could hardly at this time have done, considering the multiplicity of business ; but truly when I was once engaged in it I could hardly tell how to say less, there being so much of God in it ; and I am not willing to say more, lest there should seem to be any of man. Only give me leave to add one word showing the disparity of forces on both sides ; that so you may see, and all the world acknowledge, the great hand of God in this business. The Scots army could not be less than twelve thousand effective foot, well armed, and five thousand horse ; Langdale not less than two thousand five hundred foot and fifteen hundred horse ; in all twenty-one thousand ; and truly very few of their foot but were as well armed, if not better, than yours, and at divers disputes did fight two or three hours before they would quit their ground. Yours were about two thousand five hundred horse and dragoons of your old army ; about four thousand foot of your old army ; also about sixteen hundred Lancashire foot, and about five hundred Lancashire horse ; in all about eight thousand six hundred. You see by computation about two thousand of the enemy were slain ; between eight and nine thousand prisoners,

besides what are lurking in hedges and private places, which the country daily bring in or destroy. Where Langdale and his broken forces are I know not; but they are exceedingly shattered.

“Surely, sir, this is nothing but the hand of God; and wherever anything in this world is exalted, or exalts itself, God will put it down; for this is the day wherein he alone will be exalted. It is not fit for me to give advice, nor to say a word what use you should make of this, more than to pray you, and all that acknowledge God, that they would exalt him, and not hate his people, who are as the apple of his eye, and for whom even kings shall be reprovèd; and that you would take courage to do the work of the Lord in fulfilling the end of your magistracy, in seeking the peace and welfare of this land; that all that will live peaceably may have countenance from you, and they that are incapable, and will not leave troubling the land, may speedily be destroyed out of the land. And if you take courage in this, God will bless you, and good men will stand by you, and God will have glory, and the land will have happiness by you in despite of all

your enemies ; which shall be the prayer of your most humble and faithful servant,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”

Of the two messengers deputed to bear the news of this great success to the parliament, one received \$1,000, and the other \$500. A day of unusual thanksgiving for this wonderfully great success was likewise ordered ; and ten thousand copies of a printed schedule of items to be thankful for were dispatched throughout the land.

The remnant of the Scotch army, with their commander the duke of Hamilton, a few days after surrendered themselves, all except the rearward of their forces, which immediately turned back toward Scotland, marauding and plundering as they wended their weary way toward their own country.

Cromwell follows northward to look after these enemies, and proceeds to Edinburgh to compose matters, and where he is tendered a magnificent reception.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Second Civil War ended — Parliament still vacillating — It sends a Commission to the King — Forty-day Conference — King's Double-dealing — Cromwell's Discernment.

THUS, and in so few months, was the second civil war ended.

Will it be believed that, amid all this brilliant success and advantage—all purchased at the cost of so much blood and toil and treasure—the English parliament itself was in a vacillating condition, was alarmed at the success of their own cause, and still evincing a leaning toward royalty, and toward the execrable monarch who had been guilty of so much bloodshed, who had brought so much sorrow and distress upon the land, and was still plotting the overthrow of liberty, and the complete ruin of many of the best people of the country? In the very midst of this last civil war, amid the very days when Cromwell was achieving the great victory of Preston, and subsequently thundering at the gates of Edinburgh, and

bringing the Scots to terms—at this very time the parliament at home were deliberating about proposals to the king, with a view to his resuming the throne and the government. Fifteen commissioners, five members of the Upper House, and ten of the Commons, were deputed to wait on the king at his place of confinement in the Isle of Wight, with a view to reconciliation and restoration. There was a long conference of forty days and more. Proposals were made to the perfidious king; and the commissioners entreated him to accept of these before the return of the army from the north. The king *seemed* inclined to comply; but, true to his double-dealing, he was nourishing in his heart a far different hope. Ormond, a royalist renegade, “had quitted France, and was about to reappear in Ireland, provided with money and ammunition to enter upon a vigorous war. Charles’s heart was there; he thought of escaping and putting himself at the head of that army. He solemnly promised to give orders for the cessation of all hostilities in Ireland; but, at the same time, secretly wrote to Ormond on the 10th of October, ‘Trouble not yourself about my concessions as to Ireland. Obey my

wife's orders, not mine.' And on the 9th of the same month he wrote to Sir William Hopkins: 'My great concession this morning was made only with a view to facilitate my approaching escape.' Such was the prince whose dupe the parliament became. There never, perhaps, was any body of men who showed themselves so simple, or who gave such evidence of folly and inexperience." *

Oliver Cromwell knows Charles Stuart better—knows him thoroughly—knows him so well as to have not the slightest confidence in him—knows him to be false, to be a traitor, and deserving of nothing less than dethronement and death, if so be that death were ever deserved by man at the hand of his fellow-man.

But as the great Providence will have it, these mean approaches to the king on the part of the parliament, prove to be vain and fruitless. Charles has other plans; and is preparing to add another to the illustrations that whom the gods purpose to destroy they first make mad.

* Vindication, p. 83.

CHAPTER XIX.

The real Alternative — The Army Officers — Remonstrance — Its Doctrines — Result in Parliament — Army approaches London — “Pride’s Purge” — Grave Consequences — Concurrence of Cromwell.

IN respect to the two great hostile parties pitted against each other in these unhappy civil wars—the parliament and its forces on the one hand, and the king and royalists on the other—nearly the following seems to have been the real alternative.

Either the parliament must maintain the advantages which, by its victorious arms, it had secured, and go on, as it had begun, to establish a government guaranteeing a just civil and religious liberty to the people; or, on the other hand, submitting again to the government and power of the king, all the prodigies of valor, long labors, great sacrifices, and astonishing victories in the cause of liberty and Protestantism would be rendered vain; Popery and tyranny would resume their sway; good men throughout the land would be oppressed, the army lead-

ers beheaded, the rank and file driven by thousands into exile, and the hopes of Protestantism crushed and overthrown.

The sagacious eye of Cromwell saw this great and awful dilemma with a clear vision. He saw that the great crisis was at hand, and he would fain meet it in the fear of God and with an eye upon the true welfare of his afflicted country. But other officers of the army beside Cromwell were, at this point of time, ill at ease in contemplating the present aspect of affairs. The principal forces were at St. Albans under General Fairfax, while Cromwell, with the troops under his command, was yet in the north. At St. Albans a council of the officers proposed a serious remonstrance to the House of Commons, which was presented by a deputation of their own body, and endorsed by a letter from Gen. Fairfax. This remonstrance urged their sad apprehensions of the danger and evil of the treaty with the king, and of any accommodation with him; that he ought to be brought to trial on account of the evils done by him; that the English monarchy should henceforth be elective, or that no king be hereafter admitted but by the election of, and as upon trust

from, the people by their representatives, nor without first disclaiming and disavowing all pretense to a negative voice against the determinations of the said representatives or Commons in parliament; and that to be done in some certain form, more clear than heretofore, in the coronation oath: that a period should be set to this present parliament; that parliaments in future should be annual or biennial, and that the elective franchise should be extended and made more equal.

Much more was embraced in this remonstrance; but it is curious to remark how, with one or two slight modifications, the political sentiments above stated harmonize with the principles of enlightened republicanism as recognized and adopted in the American political systems.

This famous remonstrance excited a long and high debate, which was, at length, adjourned.

After some days, the question recurring of resuming the consideration of the army remonstrance, it was negatived by the Presbyterian majority. On the same eventful day the House was informed, in the conclusion of an additional declaration from a full council of the

army, that the army was marching toward London, "there to follow providence as God should clear their way."

All this occurred Nov. 30. Six days afterward (December 6, 1648) was revealed, in part, what these army officers meant by "following Providence." On that day, two regiments surrounded the parliament house. A regiment of horse occupied Palace yard, and a regiment of foot, commanded by Colonel Pride, occupied Westminster Hall and all the entrances to the House of Commons.

Colonel Pride holds in his hand a list of proscribed names of the House of Commons; and as each person approaches to enter and assume his place, if his name is upon the colonel's list, he is placed under guard, and escorted away from the House. Thus, on this and the following day, above a hundred members of the Commons were summarily banished from the parliament. None were allowed to remain but such as were acceptable to the council of officers, and thus the minority became the majority. This transaction, from the immediate agent concerned, goes down in history by the name of "Pride's Purge." A strange transaction,

indeed, and justifiable only amid the greatest extremities ; and it was followed by the most grave and solemn consequences. But Oliver Cromwell was not originally a party to this proceeding, having arrived from the north while the purging was in progress. Yet it must be added that he endorsed it at once. "God is my witness," said he in his place, "that I knew nothing of what has been doing in this House. But the work is in hand ; I am glad of it, and now we must carry it through."

This, of course, was a measure entirely revolutionary in its character ; and opinions will differ as to its righteousness, according as they may differ in respect to the stern necessity of the times. These officers seem to have decided clearly and conscientiously that the interests of religion, liberty, and their own lives would almost certainly be sacrificed by this parliament in their project of reinstating King Charles, as was about to be done ; and, having the power in their hands, they determined to forestall and prevent such a catastrophe.

CHAPTER XX.

King brought to London — Charges against him — Cromwell hesitates — “High Court of Justice” — King arraigned — Refusal to plead — Condemned to die — Death Warrant — Execution.

A FAR more painful scene immediately ensues. Ten days after the purging, by the army, of the House of Commons, a strong party of horse, whether by order of the Commons or army officers is not plain, was dispatched to bring the king from the Isle of Wight to London; and, on the 23d of the month, he was safely lodged a prisoner in Windsor Castle. On the same day, the Commons ordered a committee of thirty-eight persons “to consider of drawing up a charge against the king, and all other delinquents that may be thought fit to bring to condign punishment.” On the first day of January, 1649, this committee reported to the Commons an ordinance for bringing the king to trial on a charge of high treason—as the cause of all the blood which had been shed during the last war. Pending the adoption of this grave report Cromwell hesitated; and,

rising in his place and addressing the speaker, he said: "Sir, if any man whatever have carried on this design, [of deposing the king and disinheriting his posterity,] or if any man have still such a design, he must still be the greatest traitor and rebel in the world. But since the providence of God hath cast this upon us, I cannot but submit to Providence, though I am not yet prepared to give you my advice."

D'Aubigné, as it appears to us, places in its proper light the case of Cromwell at this solemn juncture of affairs. "The initiative," he writes, "in the case of Charles's trial did not proceed from Cromwell. His scruples and his anxiety grew stronger every day. Should he yield to the powerful tide that was hurrying him along, and which no one seemed capable of resisting? or should he withdraw from public affairs, and, sacrificing the great interests of civil and religious liberty in behalf of which the struggle had first begun, commit the direction of affairs to unskillful hands whose weakness would inevitably lead to the return of despotism and of popery? Seldom or never has there been a more terrible conflict in human breast." *

* Vindication, p. 90.

The same author adds with truth that "the Episcopalians, the English Presbyterians, the Church of Scotland, protested all against the king's trial. No regard was paid, however, to any opposition, and the parliament at once proceeded to erect a "High Court of Justice" for trying the sovereign, consisting of one hundred and thirty-five commissioners; and, on January 20th, Charles was brought to the bar. To the last the king disclaimed the authority of the court, and persistently refused to plead before it. After a sitting of seven days and the examination of many witnesses, the court found their royal prisoner guilty of the charge of tyranny, treason, and murder; of being the guilty cause of the whole civil war, the death of thousands of the free people of the nation, divisions within the land, invasions from foreign parts, waste of the public treasury, decay of trade, spoliation and desolation of great parts of the country, etc.; and ended with pronouncing upon the king the sentence of death.

On the 29th of January the "High Court of Justice" issued to Colonels Hacker, Hanks, and Phayr the following warrant:

“Whereas, Charles Stuart, king of England, is and standeth convicted, attainted, and condemned of high treason, and other high crimes; and sentence, upon Saturday last, was pronounced against him by this court, to be put to death by the severing of his head from his body; of which sentence execution yet remaineth to be done:

“These are, therefore, to will and require you to see the said sentence executed in the open street before Whitehall, upon the morrow, being the 30th day of this instant month of January, between the hours of ten in the morning and five in the afternoon, with full effect. And for so doing this shall be your warrant.

“And these are to require all officers and soldiers and others the good people of this nation of England to be assisting unto you in this service.

“Given under our hands and seals:

“JOHN BRADSHAW,

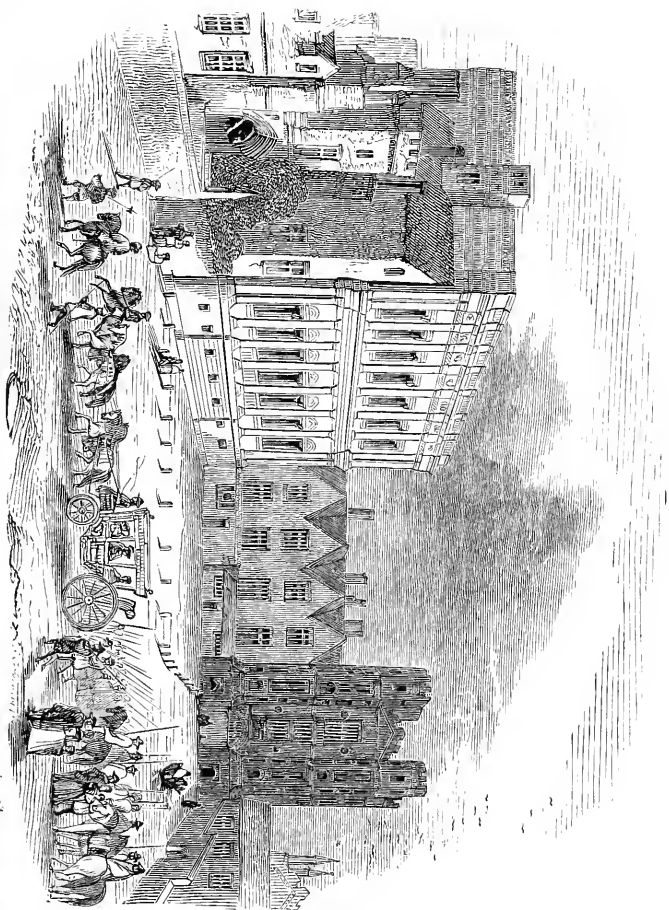
“THOMAS GREY, ‘LORD GROBY.’

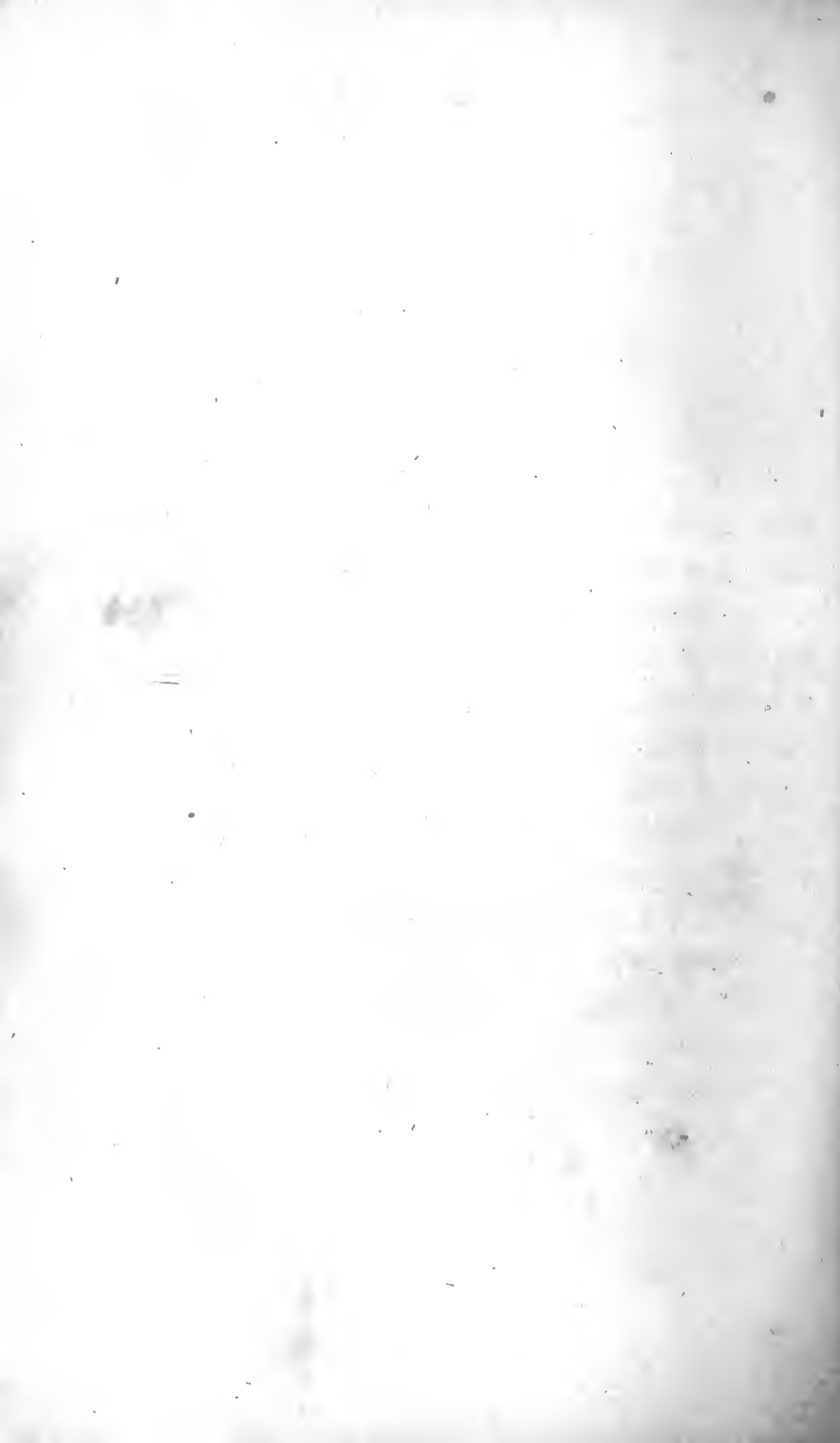
“OLIVER CROMWELL,

“(And fifty-six others.)”

This dreadful warrant was executed on the following day.

Place of the King's Execution, Whitehall.





CHAPTER XXI.

Shadows — Cromwell's Connection with the King's Death —
Verdict of Posterity — Cromwell's Scruples — Ultimate
Conviction — Character of Cromwell's Piety.

THE best, brightest earthly lives have their shadows; and the trial and execution of Charles I. presents one of the shadows that rest upon the career of Oliver Cromwell. He was a member of the Rump Parliament, and doubtless approved the plan of proceeding, and assisted to create the "High Court of Justice," and consented to be a member of this court. He was the third signer of the warrant for the king's execution. He was a *particeps criminis* to all the extent that crime was involved in this sad transaction. And that it was a crime—a crime and a blunder—is, we think, the pervading sentiment of mankind. That Charles I. was utterly unworthy to be a king; that he was false, intriguing, cruel, tyrannical, and treasonable; that he was all of these, the world knows. But it were better that he had been dethroned,

exiled, disgraced. It was shocking, revolting, horrible to bring him to the scaffold.*

Such seems to be the verdict of posterity; and Cromwell was in this thing. It is true, as we have seen, at the first proposal in parliament to proceed against the king, Cromwell shrunk back with horror; but he acquiesced, notwithstanding, and was one of the regicides.

Yet the whole truth should be told, and all extenuating circumstances should be faithfully brought to view.

Let it be understood, then, that Cromwell fully understood the character of King Charles. He had evidence, clear as demonstration, of his

* We object very decidedly to the author's views respecting the execution of Charles I. He admits the king's treason, which was a crime punishable with death under the laws he had sworn to maintain. If the parliament possessed any governmental rights, it certainly had the right to try, convict, and punish a criminal, even though he might be a king. Where, then, was Charles's execution a crime? We think it was a merited punishment for a grave offense against liberty and law. Had he been only *exiled*, he would have stirred up the monarchs of continental Europe to aid him in recovering his crown. Moreover, his execution was politic as well as right, for it did much toward breaking down that popular superstitious reverence for the persons of kings which up to that time had been a formidable bulwark of despotism. We think this is the general opinion of the best friends of civil liberty in modern times.—D. W.

falsity and hypocrisy, and that, if reinstated, he would bring his prominent enemies to the halter. Thus, knowing the king as he did, Cromwell and those with whom he acted entertained not the least doubt that he richly deserved to die, and they judged that the circumstance of his being king should be no hinderance to the exercise of justice upon him. Cromwell's pole-star was the civil and religious liberty of mankind, and he contemplated Charles as aiming to destroy both the one and the other; and hence he came to believe that such a monster should be swept from the earth. Nor yet was he hasty and rash in reaching so grave a conclusion. The religion of this remarkable man was ardent and constant, and he was not prepared at once to sign the king's death warrant. For a time he seems to have been uncertain and wavering. He longed above all things to do right; but what was the right in this case? Painful dilemma indeed! In the midst of his perplexity he told his cousin, John Cromwell, that he had "fasted and prayed to know the will of God in respect to the king, but that God had not yet pointed out the way." When his cousin, who was opposed to Oliver's signing

the fatal warrant, had retired, "Cromwell and his friends again sought by prayer the path they ought to follow; and it was then the parliamentary hero first felt the conviction that Charles's death alone could save England. From that moment all was fixed; God had spoken; Oliver's indecision was at an end; it remained now merely to act and accomplish that will, however appalling it might be. At one o'clock in the morning a messenger from the general knocked at the door of the tavern where John Cromwell lodged, and informed him that his cousin had at length dismissed his doubts, and that all the arguments so long put forward by the most decided republicans were now confirmed by the will of the Lord."*

The propriety of all this we neither affirm nor deny; but must submit it as evidence that Cromwell was sincere in his convictions of duty in so grave a matter, and that conscience, perverted though it may have been, was the ruling principle by which he was actuated.

The religion of Cromwell, as was very common in that age, was more or less tinctured with fanaticism, and this one blemish accounts

* D'Aubigné.

for much that appears shadowy and doubtful in the character of this great man. "This," says one of his biographers, "is the key which opens and explains his whole life. His piety was sincere, but it was not always sober.

"Yet if this error be a great extenuation of the protector's fault, the crime to which it led him must ever remain in history as a warning to terrify those who may base their conduct on their inward impressions rather than on the sure, positive, and ever-accessible inspirations of that word of God which never deceives."

CHAPTER XXII.

Council of State — Cromwell a Member — England a Commonwealth — Monarchy abolished — Richard Cromwell's Marriage — Letter to Richard's Father-in-law — News of a Victory in Ireland — Another Letter — A Letter to his Daughter-in-law — Cromwell's Domestic Character.

BY way of the settlement of the nation the parliament presently created a "Council of State" to act as the executive branch of the government. This council consisted of forty-one members, and commenced its sessions in

about two weeks after the king's death. Of this council were Cromwell, Fairfax—the general of the parliament forces, Bradshaw, (the president of the court that tried and condemned King Charles,) and other names of note. England and all its appurtenances were declared a commonwealth, or free state; and was decreed to be governed as such “by the supreme authority of this nation, the representatives of the people in parliament, and by such as they shall appoint and constitute officers and ministers under them for the good of the people; and that without any king or House of Lords.” *

And here, within an interim of a few months, and while but a few events of a public or exciting character are transpiring, let us pause to illustrate, by one or two brief extracts, the more private and domestic character of Cromwell, and contemplate yet further the “ruling passion” of his heart.

On May 1st of this year, (1649,) Cromwell's eldest son, Richard, was married to a daughter of Richard Mayor, Esq. In July following he thus writes to his brother Mayor:

* Carlyle, i, 336.

“LOVING BROTHER: I received your letter by Major Long. . . . I am very glad to hear of your welfare, and that our children have so good leisure to make a journey to eat cherries. It's very excusable in my daughter; I hope she may have a very good pretense for it. I assure you, sir, I wish her very well, and I believe she knows it. I pray you tell her for me, I expect she writes often to me; by which I shall understand how all your family doth, and she will be kept in some exercise. I have already delivered my son up to you, and I hope you will counsel him; he will need it; and, indeed, I believe he likes well what you say, and will be advised by you. I wish he may be serious; the times require it.

“I hope my little sister* is in health, to whom I desire my very hearty affections and service may be presented; as also to my cousin Ann,† to whom I wish a good husband. I desire my affections may be presented to all your family, to which I wish a blessing from the Lord. I hope I shall have your prayers in the business to which I am called. My wife, I trust, will be with you before it be long on her

* Mrs. Mayor.

† Ann Mayor.

way toward Bristol. Sir, discompose not your thoughts or estate for what you are to pay me. Let me know wherein I may comply with your occasions and mind ; and be confident you will find me to you as your own heart.

“Wishing your prosperity and contentment very sincerely, with the remembrance of my love, I rest.

“Your affectionate brother and servant,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”

A few days after, on receiving news of a signal victory in Ireland on the part of the parliamentary troops, he addresses his brother Mayor again as follows :

“This (the victory) is an astonishing mercy ; so great and seasonable that indeed we are like them that dreamed. What can we say ! The Lord fill our souls with thankfulness, that our mouths may be full of his praise—and our lives too ; and grant we may never forget his goodness to us. These things seem to strengthen our faith and love against more difficult times. Sir, pray for me, that I may walk worthy of the Lord, in all that he hath called me unto !

“I have committed my son to you ; pray give

him advice. I envy him not his contents;* but I fear he should be swallowed up in them. I would have him mind and understand business, read a little history, study the mathematics and cosmography; these are good, with subordination to the things of God. Better than idleness, or mere outward worldly contents. These fit for public services, for which a man is born.

“Pardon this trouble. I am thus bold because I know you love me; as, indeed, I do you and yours. My love to my dear sister and my cousin Ann your daughter, and all friends.

“I rest, sir, your loving brother.

“P. S. Sir, I desire you not to discommode yourself because of the money due to me. Your welfare is as mine; and, therefore, let me know, from time to time, what will convenience you in any forbearance; I shall answer you in it, and be ready to accommodate you; and, therefore, do your other business; let not this hinder.”

At the same date (August 13) he thus addresses his daughter-in-law :

* His joys—pleasures.

“MY DEAR DAUGHTER: Your letter was very welcome to me. I like to see anything from your hand ; because, indeed, I stick not to say I do entirely love you, and therefore I hope a word of advice will not be unwelcome or unacceptable to thee.

“I desire you both to make it, above all things, your business to seek the Lord, to be frequently calling upon him, that he would manifest himself to you in his Son ; and be listening what returns he makes to you ; for he will be speaking in your ear and in your heart, if you attend thereunto. I desire you to provoke your husband likewise thereunto. As for the pleasures of this life, and outward business, let that be upon the bye. Be above all these things, by faith in Christ ; and then you shall have the true use and comfort of them, and not otherwise. I have much satisfaction in hope your spirit is this way set ; and I desire you may grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ ; and that I may hear thereof. The Lord is very near, which we see by his wonderful works ; and therefore he looks that we of this generation draw near to him. This late great mercy of Ireland is a

great manifestation thereof. Your husband will acquaint you with it. We should be much stirred up in our spirits to thankfulness. We much need the Spirit of Christ to enable us to praise God for so admirable mercy.

“The Lord bless thee, my dear daughter.

“I rest, thy loving father,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”

Such was Oliver Cromwell—such was Oliver Cromwell’s heart. He was a terrible man of war, for he evidently believed he was divinely called to fight for the great and vital interests of humanity. Yet when wars were distant he was eminently a man of peace, and delighted in the beautiful amenities of social life, and to invite all that were dear to him within the sacred precincts of the life divine.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Cromwell starts for Ireland — Rides in State — Reaches Bristol — Embarks at Milford Haven — Arrives at Dublin — Grand Reception — His Speech — Great Applause.

WHEN Cromwell penned the several extracts of letters presented in the preceding chapter, he had already proceeded far on his way to Ireland as commander-in-chief of the forces destined to set in order that distracted realm. Carlyle, in his own style, thus pictures to us the scene as Cromwell leaves London on this important expedition.

“Tuesday, 10th of July, 1649. This evening, about five of the clock, the lord lieutenant of Ireland began his journey; by the way of Windsor, and so to Bristol. He went forth in that state and equipage as the like hath hardly been seen—himself in a coach with six gallant Flanders mares, whitish gray; divers coaches accompanying him, and very many great officers of the army; his life-guard consisting of eighty gallant men, the meanest whereof a commander or esquire, in stately habit; with

trumpets sounding almost to the shaking of Charing Cross, had it been now standing. Of his life-guard, many are colonels; and, believe me, it's such a guard as is hardly to be paralleled in the world. And now have at you, my lord of Ormond! You will have men of gallantry to encounter; whom to overcome will be honor sufficient, and to be beaten by them will be no great blemish to your reputation. If you say, Cesar or nothing; they say, A republic or nothing. The lord-lieutenant's colors are white." *

He proceeded westward to Bristol and Pembroke, embarked at Milford Haven, where, just as he was about to sail, he was greeted with the joyful news of the great Dublin victory alluded to in one of the foregoing letters. After two days sail, with a prosperous wind, he arrived in Dublin, "where," say the old chronicles, "he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy; the great guns echoing forth their welcome, and the acclamations of the people resounding in every street. The lord-lieutenant being come into the city, where the concourse of the people was very great, they

* Letters, i, 366.

all flocking to see him of whom before they had heard so much—at a convenient place he made a stand, ‘and with his hat in his hand made a speech to them,’ to this effect: ‘That as God had brought him thither in safety, so he doubted not, by Divine Providence, to restore them all to their just liberties and properties,’ and that all persons whose hearts’ affections were real for the carrying on of this great work against the barbarous and blood-thirsty Irish, and their confederates and adherents, and for propagating of Christ’s Gospel and establishing of truth and peace, and restoring of this bleeding nation of Ireland to its former happiness and tranquility—should find favor and protection from the parliament of England and him; and withal receive such rewards and gratuities as might be answerable to their merits. This speech,” say the old newspapers, “was entertained with great applause by the people; who all cried out, ‘We will live and die with you!’”

CHAPTER XXIV.

Ireland — Its unhappy Condition — Massacres of Protestants — Shocking details — Picture by Carlyle — Nearly all Ireland united against Cromwell — He smites the Foe.

AT the time of Cromwell's expedition to Ireland that country had been for several years in a most disordered and unhappy condition. In 1640 the Irish Roman Catholics had broken out into rebellion, and massacred an incredible number of Protestants, varying, according to the different accounts, from fifty to two hundred thousand victims. This was the Hibernian Saint Bartholomew. At that time the Roman Catholics of Ireland had no cause of complaint; Charles I. had taken care of them. They had their archbishops, bishops, vicars-general; and, above all, a great number of Jesuits. It was in such a state of things that, shrouding themselves in the deepest secrecy, like the West India negroes meditating a plot for the massacre of the white man, the Irish conceived the design not only of erasing from their country every trace of the English nation and of Protestant-

ism, but also of crossing over into England, of becoming its masters with the aid of Spain and the pope, and of abolishing the reformed religion in that island.

The details of this bloody scene were too dreadful to be named; while yet a specimen or two should be noted as some explanation of the terrible punishment that, by the glittering sword of Cromwell, subsequently befell the murderers: "The Catholics burned the houses of the Protestants, turned them out naked in the midst of winter, and drove them like herds of swine before them. If ashamed of their nudity, and desirous of seeking shelter from the rigor of a remarkably severe season, these unhappy wretches took refuge in a barn, and concealed themselves under the straw, the rebels instantly set fire to it, and burned them alive. At other times they were led without clothing to be drowned in rivers; and if, on the road, they did not move quick enough, they were urged forward at the point of the pike. When they reached the river or the sea, they were precipitated into it in bands of several hundred, which is doubtless an exaggeration. If these poor wretches rose to the

surface of the water, men were stationed along the brink to plunge them in again with the butts of their muskets, or to fire at and kill them. Husbands were cut to pieces in the presence of their wives; wives and virgins were abused in the sight of their nearest relations; and infants of seven or eight years were hung before the eyes of their parents. Nay, the Irish even went so far as to teach their own children to strip and kill the children of the English, and dash out their brains against the stones. Numbers of Protestants were buried alive, as many as seventy in one trench. An Irish priest, named Mac Ocdaghan, captured forty or fifty Protestants, and persuaded them to abjure their religion on a promise of quarter. After their abjuration, he asked them if they believed that Christ was bodily present in the host, and that the pope was the head of the Church? and on their replying in the affirmative, he said, 'Now, then, you are in a very good faith,' and for fear they should relapse into heresy cut all their throats." *

Nor did cruel fighting, desperate violence, and frightful misery cease to afflict that wretched

* D'Aubigné.

people during all the eight years previous to Cromwell's arrival there. Carlyle writes: "There has been no scene under the sun like Ireland for these eight years. Murder, pillage, conflagration, excommunication; wide-flowing blood, and bluster high as heaven and St. Peter; as if wolves or rabid dogs were in fight here; as if demons from the pit had mounted up to deface this fair green piece of God's creation with *their* talkings and workings! It is and shall remain very dark to us. Conceive Ireland wasted, torn in pieces; black controversy, as of demons and rabid wolves rushing over the face of it so long; incurable and very dim to us; till here at last, as in the torrent of heaven's lightning descending liquid on it, we have clear and terrible views of its affairs for a time!" *

On Cromwell's approach, all the parties that had been engaged in ravaging Ireland united to oppose him. Pilate and Herod were at once made friends. Catholics of different shades, Episcopalians and Presbyterian royalists, all rallied to the standard of the enemy. "In all Ireland," says Carlyle, "when Cromwell sets

* Letters, i, 376.

foot on it, there remain only two towns, Dublin and Derry, that hold for the Commonwealth. Dublin lately besieged, Derry still besieged. A very formidable combination. All Ireland kneaded together, by favorable accident and the incredible patience of Ormond, stands up in one great combination, resolute to resist the commonwealth. Combination great in bulk, but made of iron and clay; in meaning not so great. Oliver has taken survey and measure of it; Oliver descends on it like the hammer of Thor; smites it, as at one fell stroke, into dust and ruin, never to reunite against him more."

CHAPTER XXV.

Cromwell's Army — Its Religious Character — One of two Plans of Operation — The one adopted — Its prompt Execution — Fall of Drogheda — Details of the Siege — Wexford and Ross reduced — Nearly the whole Country yields to the Conqueror.

CROMWELL came to Ireland with twelve thousand men; not a large army, but formidable and terrible. "Before they embarked the troops observed a day of fasting and prayer; three ministers solemnly invoked the blessing of God

on the expedition; and three officers—the Colonels Gough and Harrison, with the lord-lieutenant himself—expounded certain pertinent passages of Scripture. The army was under the strictest discipline; not an oath was to be heard throughout the whole camp, the soldiers spending their leisure hours in reading their Bibles, in singing psalms, and in religious conferences.”*

It was a momentous question with Cromwell, as a general, what was the proper and effectual plan of operations for the restoration of order in distracted Ireland. “Should he employ a few weeks, with the sacrifice of five thousand men, or several years, with the loss of perhaps twenty thousand? If he took prompt and formidable measures, such as were calculated to spread terror on every side, he would immediately check the disease. If, on the contrary, he proceeded with a light and hesitating hand, he would prolong it indefinitely. To Cromwell the most energetic way appeared the most humane. He acted as men do in a great conflagration, where the adjoining houses are pulled down to save the more remote; or, as in an hospital, where a diseased limb is cut off to

* D'Aubigné.

preserve the others. Having weighed everything, he decided for the hand of iron. That hand is never amiable, but yet there are cases in which it is salutary.” *

Such was Cromwell's plan, which he proceeded at once to put in execution. His success was great and decisive. But details of blood are painful; let a single specimen suffice for the whole.

As soon as Ormond is informed of the arrival of Cromwell, he determines, with the flower of his forces to put Drogheda in a position to resist the enemy, and to render the port as formidable as possible. On the following day Cromwell appears before the city and orders a general assault. This being partially unsuccessful, the attack is renewed the next morning, and he enters the city by two different breaches. Let his report to parliament, dated Dublin, 17th September, 1649, tell the remainder of the story:

“Divers of the enemy retreated into the Mill-mount, a place very strong and of difficult access, being exceedingly high, having a good graff and strongly palisaded. The governor, Sir Arthur Ashton, and divers considerable

* D'Aubigné.

officers being there, our men getting up to them were ordered by me to put them all to the sword. And, indeed, being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town; and, I think, that night, they put to the sword about two thousand men; divers of the officers and soldiers being fled over the bridge into the other part of the town, where about one hundred of them possessed St. Peter's Church steeple, some the west gate, and others a strong round tower next to the gate, called St. Sunday's. These being summoned to yield to mercy, refused. Whereupon I ordered the steeple of St. Peter's Church to be fired; when one of them was heard to say in the midst of the flames: 'God damn me, God confound me; I burn, I burn.'

"The next day the other two towers were summoned, in one of which was about six or seven score, but they refused to yield themselves; and we, knowing that hunger must compel them, set only good guards to secure them from running away until their stomachs were come down. From one of the said towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men. When

they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes. The soldiers in the other tower were all spared, as to their lives only, and shipped likewise for the Barbadoes.

“I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood; and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future, which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret. . . . And now give me leave to say how it comes to pass that this work is wrought. It was set upon some of our hearts that a great thing should be done, not by power or might, but by the Spirit of God. And is it not so, clearly? That which caused your men to storm so courageously, it was the Spirit of God, who gave your men courage, and took it away again; and gave the enemy courage, and took it away again; and gave your men courage again, and therewith this happy success. And, therefore, it is good that God alone have all the glory.”*

* Letters, i, 383, 384.

Cromwell at once marched to Wexford, where horrible cruelties had been perpetrated upon the English residents by the Irish, and where death had been proclaimed as punishment for every Irish person who should harbor or relieve an Englishman. The summons to surrender being refused, Cromwell gave orders for the assault, and became master of the place with a loss to the enemy of two thousand men, who were put to the sword.

Then the victorious army appears before Ross, another stronghold of the enemy, and sent the following summons to the commander:

“SIR: Since my coming into Ireland I have this witness for myself, that I have endeavored to avoid effusion of blood; having been before no place to which such terms have not been first sent as might have turned to the good and preservation of those to whom they were offered; this being my principle, that the people and places where I come may not suffer, except through their own willfulness.

“To the end I may observe the like course with this place and people therein, I do hereby summon you to deliver the town of Ross into

my hands, to the use of the parliament of England. Expecting your speedy answer, I rest.

“Your servant, OLIVER CROMWELL.”

After some correspondence the place was surrendered. The terrible lessons of Drogheda and Wexford had produced their effect. Cromwell's severe policy was successful. “The arms fell from the rebels' hands in every quarter of Ireland before the formidable name of Cromwell. By the middle of May the whole country was reduced, with the exception of one or two places, which Ireton subsequently captured. Ormond escaped to France. Thus, by inflicting these two terrible blows, at Drogheda and Wexford, the victor taught the murderers the necessity of submission, prevented a greater effusion of blood, and restored peace in Ireland.” *

* Vindication, p. 111.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Ireland redeemed — Milton's Description of Cromwell's Soldiers — Letter to Mr. Mayor — Neal — Cromwell embarks for England — Great Reception at Bristol — At London.

D'AUBIGNE writes that "historians, even those most opposed to Cromwell, acknowledge that no statesman ever did so much as he for the good of that poor country. Public order and security, such as had not been known for many years, revived. The province of Connaught, then a vast desert district, was soon changed into a fruitful country, and the rest of Ireland was everywhere cultivated with activity and confidence. In the space of little more than two years, the whole kingdom was covered with elegant and useful buildings, fine plantations, and new inclosures. Peace, ease, and industry had returned to that unhappy land. Clarendon, and M. Villemain after him, cannot conceal their astonishment at it; and there is no impropriety in applying the rule of Scripture to Cromwell's conquest of Ireland, *the tree is known by its fruit.*"

The same writer adds: "We need not wonder at these results, if we call to mind Milton's description of Cromwell's soldiers: 'He raised an army as numerous and well equipped as was ever before done within so short a period; lessened to the most perfect obedience, high in the affections of its fellow-citizens, and not more formidable to its enemies in the field than admirable for its behavior to them out of it; having so foreborne all injury to their persons or properties, in comparison with the violence, intemperance, profaneness, and debauchery of their own royalists, as to make them exult in the change, and hail in them a host not of fiends but of friends, (*non hostes sed hospites*;) a protection to the good, a terror to the bad, and an encouragement to every species of piety and virtue.'" *

Together with many official dispatches to the parliament, touching the progress of affairs, we have the following note to his brother Mayor, bearing date, Carrick, 2d April, 1650:

"DEAR BROTHER: For me to write unto you the state of our affairs here were more indeed

* Vindication, pp. 111, 112.

than I have leisure well to do, and, therefore, I hope you do not expect it from me; seeing when I write to the parliament I usually am, as becomes me, very particular with them, and usually from thence the knowledge thereof is spread.

“Only this let me say, which is the best intelligence to friends that are truly Christian: The Lord is pleased still to vouchsafe us his presence, and to prosper his own work in our hands; which to us is the more eminent because truly we are a company of poor, weak, worthless creatures. Truly our work is neither from our own brains nor from our courage and strength; but we follow the Lord, who goeth before, and gather what he scattereth, that so all may appear to be from him.

“The taking of the city of Kilkenny hath been one of our last works; which, indeed, I believe hath been a great discomposing of the enemy, it's so much in their bowels. We have taken many considerable places lately without much loss. What can we say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us? Who can fight against the Lord and prosper? Who

can resist his will? The Lord keep us in his love.

“I desire your prayers; your family is often in mine.” *

After having been nine months in Ireland, and having charged his son-in-law, Ireton, with the completion of the work there, Cromwell, at the earnest solicitation of parliament, prepares to return to England. During these few months “he had gained as a soldier,” says Mr. Neal, “more laurels, and done more wonders, than any age or history could parallel.” † Amid the last days of May, 1650, he steps on board the frigate *President*, which had been sent over to attend his excellency’s pleasure, and, after a rough passage, reaches England in safety. At Bristol, on his way to London, he is received with great honors and acclamations. Approaching London, “all the world is out to welcome him.” “Fairfax, and chief officers, and members of parliament, with solemn salutation, on Hounslow Heath; from Hounslow Heath to Hyde Park, where are trainbands and lord mayors; to Whitehall and the Cockpit,

* Letters, i, 423, 424.

† Neal’s History of the Puritans.

which are better than these, it is one wide tumult of salutation, congratulation, artillery-volleying, human shouting, hero-worship after a sort, not the best sort. It was on this occasion that Oliver said, or is reported to have said, when some sycophantic person observed, "What a crowd come out to see your lordship's triumph!" "Yes, but if it were to see me hanged, how many would there be!" *

Arriving at the place which had been prepared for him, he was visited by the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and by many other persons of quality, all of them expressing their own and the nation's great obligations to him for his eminent services in Ireland. After some time of respite and refreshment he attended his charge in parliament, where the speaker, in an elegant speech, gave him the thanks of the House.†

* Letters i, 426.

- † Perfect Politician.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Scotland opposed to the Commonwealth—Favorable to the Succession of Charles II. — He is invited to Scotland — His Character — Cromwell marches with an Army to Scotland — Had been appointed Generalissimo — A Letter to Mr. Mayor.

CROMWELL reached London from his great Irish campaign on the 31st of May, 1650. On the 29th of June, within a single month from his arrival home, he passed again from London on another military expedition to Scotland.

The Scots, although opposed to the tyranny of the Stuarts, and opposed to Rome, at once put themselves in opposition to the Commonwealth of England. D'Aubigné gives us the true position of the Scots at this particular period. "In spiritual things the Scots acknowledged Jesus Christ as their king; in temporal, they recognized Charles the Second. They had no wish that the latter should usurp the kingdom of the former; but they also had no desire that Cromwell should seize upon the Stuarts' throne. They possessed a double loyalty—one toward the heavenly King, and another to

their earthly sovereign. They had cast off the abuses of the latter, but not the monarchy itself. They accordingly invited the prince, who was then in Holland, to come to Scotland and take possession of his kingdom."* But in taking the crown of Scotland the prince must adopt the Presbyterian covenant also; a thing which he was very slow to do. Yet, as he could not have one without the other, he reluctantly and hypocritically yielded. The most serious thinkers in the nation saw that they could expect little else from him than duplicity, treachery, and licentiousness. It has been said that the Scotch *compelled* Charles to adopt their detested covenant *voluntarily*! Most certainly the political leaders cannot be entirely exculpated of this charge; but it was not so with the religious part of the government. When he declared his readiness to sign that deed on board the ship, even before he landed, Livingston, who doubted his sincerity, begged him to wait until he had reached Scotland, and given satisfactory proofs of his good faith. But it was all to no effect; and when again, at Dunfermline, Charles wished to append his signature to a

* Vindication, pp. 128, 129.

new declaration, by which he renounced Popery and Episcopacy, and asserted that he had no other enemies than those of the covenant, the Rev. Patrick Gillespie said to him: 'Sire, unless in your soul and conscience you are satisfied, beyond all hesitation, of the righteousness of this declaration, do not subscribe it; no, do not subscribe it, not for the three kingdoms.' 'Mr. Gillespie, Mr. Gillespie,' replied the king, 'I am satisfied, I am satisfied; . . . and therefore will subscribe.'” *

The same author adds: "If Charles Stuart had thought of ascending his native throne only, Cromwell and the English would have remained quiet; but he aimed at the recovery of the three kingdoms, and the Scotch were disposed to aid him. Oliver immediately saw the magnitude of the danger which threatened the religion, liberty, and morals of England, and did not hesitate."

All this will sufficiently explain the new military expedition to Scotland. Of this expedition, much against his will, Cromwell was placed in command. There seems to have been earnest intercessions, solemn conferences,

* Vindication, pp. 129, 130.

held with General Fairfax, accompanied with prayer to Heaven, "intended, on Cromwell's part, to persuade Fairfax that it is his duty again to accept the chief command, and lead us into Scotland. Fairfax, urged by his wife, who was a zealous Presbyterian, dare not and will not go;" and, the next day, resigns his commission of general-in-chief of the forces of the Commonwealth, in order that Cromwell might be appointed to that office.

Accordingly, on Wednesday, 26th June, 1650, the Commons' journals record for the day "the act, appointing that Oliver Cromwell, Esquire, be constituted captain-general and commander-in-chief of all the forces raised or to be raised by authority of parliament within the Commonwealth of England," was passed. Whereupon, says one of the old writers, there were great ceremonies and congratulations of the new general from all sorts of people; and three days from that of his appointment "the Lord General Cromwell went out of London toward the north; and the news of his marching northward much startled the Scots." *

From Northumberland, about a fortnight

* Letters, i, 439.

after leaving London, he addresses the following note to his brother Mayor, who, it will be held in mind, was the father of Richard Cromwell's wife:

“DEAR BROTHER: The exceeding crowd of business I had at London is the best excuse I can make for my silence this way. Indeed, sir, my heart beareth me witness I want no affection for you or yours; you are all often in my poor prayers.

“I should be glad to hear how the little brat doth.* I could chide both father and mother for their neglects of me; I know my son is idle, but I have better thoughts of Doll. I doubt now her husband hath spoiled her; pray tell her so from me. If I had as good leisure as they I should write sometimes. . . . The Lord bless them! I hope you give my son good counsel; I believe he needs it. He is in the dangerous time of his age, and it's a very vain world. O how good it is to close with Christ betimes! there is nothing else worth looking after. I beseech you call upon him. I hope you will discharge my duty

* Richard has an heir.

and your own love; you see how I am employed. I need pity. I know what I feel. Great place and business in the world is not worth the looking after; I should have no comfort in mine, but that my hope is in the Lord's presence. I have not sought these things; truly I have been called unto them by the Lord; and, therefore, am not without some assurance that he will enable his poor worm and weak servant to do his will and to fulfill my generation. In this I desire your prayers. Desiring to be lovingly remembered to my dear sister, to our son and daughter, to my Cousin Ann and the good family, I rest.

“Your very affectionate brother,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Cromwell encamps across the Border — Issues a Proclamation — Asserts Uprightness of Motive — No Harm intended except against the Pretensions of Charles — Scots bent upon his Accession to the Throne — A large Army prepares to meet Cromwell — The great Battle of Dunbar — Splendid Victory over the Scots — Cromwell's Report to Parliament.

CROMWELL and his army reached Scotland on the 22d of July, and encamped across the border. On the march, and now after his arrival, he causes to be issued a Declaration “to all that are saints and partakers of the faith of God’s elect in Scotland;” also a Proclamation “to the people of Scotland” in general. The declaration asserts and argues to the Scots that in Charles Stuart and his party there can be no salvation; that the English forces in entering Scotland were seeking the real substance of that covenant which was so indispensable in the minds of the good people of Scotland, which substance it was perilous to desert for the mere outer form thereof. It affirmed that the English were not sectaries and blasphemers,

as had been charged upon them by the Scots; and that it went against their hearts to hurt a hair of any sincere servant of God.

But the Scots, as we have seen, were greatly incensed with the trial and execution of King Charles, and were bitterly opposed to the commonwealth that had been established in place of monarchy. Hence they were bent upon the restoration of the Stuart dynasty, not only over themselves, but over all the three nations.* Thus they invited Charles II. to Scotland, who had hypocritically signed their covenant, thereby pledging himself to rule with Presbyterianism as the established religion. And to establish his authority throughout Scotland, England, and Ireland they had raised an army, and were preparing to march with their new king into England.

It was to checkmate all this bad business that the English army, with Cromwell at its head, was now encamped within the borders of Scotland. The Scots were determined to saddle upon the whole country Charles, who was a papist, and a licentious and abandoned character; while the English were equally deter-

* England, Scotland, and Ireland.

mined that no such thing should be done. Thus the matter comes to arms, and the two hostile forces are now arrayed against each other.

The English army, as we have seen, reached Scotland on the 22d of July. There were hardly more than twelve thousand effective soldiers, while the army of the Scots, as it lay entrenched before Edinburgh, amounted to twenty-seven thousand men. Various movements and skirmishes between the two armies occurred in the course of the five or six weeks ensuing. At length, the forces of Cromwell, in a somewhat reduced and forlorn condition, were hemmed in at Dunbar by the powerful forces of their enemies. Cromwell, seizing a favorable opportunity, made a prodigious onset on the right wing of the Scots, and after several hours of hard fighting routed them utterly, achieving one of the most splendid victories recorded in history.

Cromwell's official report to parliament, of which the following is an extract, will present the best view of this great success.

“The best of the enemy's horse being broken through and through in less than an hour's dispute, their whole army being put into confusion,

it became a total route, our men having the chase and execution of them near eight miles. We believe that upon the place and near about it were about three thousand slain. Prisoners taken: of their officers, you have this inclosed list; of private soldiers near ten thousand. The whole baggage and train taken, wherein was good store of match, powder, and bullet; all their artillery, great and small—thirty guns. We are confident they have left behind them not less than fifteen thousand arms. I have already brought in to me near two hundred colors, which I herewith send you. What officers of theirs of quality are killed we yet cannot learn; but yet surely divers are; and many men of quality are mortally wounded: as Colonel Lumsden, the Lord Libberton, and others. And that which is no small addition, I do not believe we have lost twenty men. Not one commissioned officer slain as I hear of, save one cornet, and Major Rooksby, since dead of his wounds; and not many mortally wounded; Col. Whalley, only cut in the hand-wrist, and his horse (twice shot) killed under him; but he well recovered another horse, and went on in the chase.”

In the very act of reporting such a great achievement and success his eye is upon the true welfare of England. Mark him as he further writes :

“ Thus you have the prospect of one of the most signal mercies God hath done for England and his people this war ; and now may it please you to give me the leave of a few words. It is easy to say, ‘ The Lord hath done this.’ It would do you good to see and hear our poor foot to go up and down making their boast of God. But, sir, it’s in your hands ; and by these eminent mercies God puts it more into your hands to give glory to him ; to improve your power and his blessings to his praise. We that serve you beg of you not to own us, but God alone. We pray you own his people more and more, for they are the chariots and horsemen of Israel. Disown yourselves, but own your authority ; and improve it to curb the proud and the insolent, such as would disturb the tranquillity of England, though under what specious pretensions soever. Relieve the oppressed, hear the groans of poor prisoners in England. Be pleased to reform the abuses of all professions ; and if there be any one that makes many poor

to make a few rich, that suits not a commonwealth. If He that strengthens your servants to fight, please to give your hearts to set upon these things, in order to his glory and the glory of your commonwealth, then, besides the benefit England shall feel thereby, you shall shine forth to other nations, who shall emulate the glory of such a pattern, and through the power of God turn in to the like.”*

CHAPTER XXIX.

Cromwell marches to Edinburgh — Ministers of Edinburgh flee to the Castle — Cromwell invites them to occupy their Pulpits as usual — Their Reply — He expostulates with them — His Views of the Ministry.

To unfold, so far as may be, the heart of Oliver Cromwell, and to point youthful students of history to the grand drift of this wonderful man's energies and life, are the main purposes of these pages. Hence let us follow him as, immediately after the battle of Dunbar, he proceeds to Edinburgh. He follows thither the scattered remnant of the Scotch army, a

* Letters, i, 471, 472.

part of which return to the strong castle in the midst of the town.

The ministers of the town, it seems, had taken refuge in the same stronghold, as being fearful of the victorious chief who was lately come into their country.

The great battle was fought on Tuesday, September 3. In the course of the same week Cromwell reached Edinburgh; and on the Sabbath observed that there was no preaching in the churches, the preachers, as we have seen, having fled to the castle. On Monday he directed the Lieutenant-General Whalley to address to the governor of the castle the following note:

“SIR: I received command from my lord general to desire you to let the ministers of Edinburgh, now in the castle with you, know that they have free liberty granted them, if they please to take the pains, to preach in their several churches; and that my lord hath given special command, both to officers and soldiers, that they shall not, in the least, be molested. Sir, I am your most humble servant,

“EDWARD WHALLEY.”

The ministers, in a note, replied "That though they are ready to be spent in their Master's service, and to refuse no suffering so they may fulfill their ministry with joy; yet perceiving the persecution to be personal, by the practice of your party, upon the ministers of Christ in England and Ireland, and in the kingdom of Scotland since your unjust invasion thereof, and finding nothing expressed in yours whereupon to build any security for their persons while they are there, and for their return hither, they are resolved to reserve themselves for better times, and to wait upon Him who hath hidden his face for a while from the sons of Jacob."

Not a very becoming reply, this, to such a message as that which was sent to these ministers; and sent, too, by the victorious Cromwell.

But let us note a part of his response. It is written by Cromwell himself, and the address is still to the governor of the castle:

"SIR: The kindness offered to the ministers with you was done with ingenuity,* thinking it

* Ingenuousness.

might have met with the like; but I am satisfied to tell those with you, that if their Master's service (as they call it) were chiefly in their eye, imagination of suffering would not have caused such a return; much less would the practice of our party, as they are pleased to say, upon the ministers of Christ in England, have been an argument of personal persecution.

“The ministers in England are supported, and have liberty to preach the Gospel; though not to rail, nor, under pretense thereof, to overtop the civil power, or debase it as they please. No man hath been troubled in England or Ireland for preaching the Gospel; nor has any minister been molested in Scotland since the coming of the army hither. The speaking truth becomes the ministers of Christ.

“When ministers pretend to a glorious reformation, and lay the foundations thereof in getting to themselves worldly power, and can make worldly mixtures to accomplish the same, such as their late agreement with their king, and hope by him to carry on their design, they may know that the Zion promised will not be built of such untempered mortar.” *

* Letters, i, 479, 480.

In the course of some further correspondence with these ministers, we have some interesting views of Cromwell touching the Christian ministry itself. Alluding to the arrogance of his clerical correspondents up in the castle, he tells them: "We have not so learned Christ. We look at ministers as helpers of, not lords over, God's people. I appeal to their consciences, whether any person trying their doctrines, and dissenting, shall not incur the censure of sectary? And what is this but to deny Christians their liberty, and assume the infallible chair? What doth he* whom we would not be likened unto do more than this?"

CHAPTER XXX.

Cromwell further instructs the Scotch Ministers.

"YOU say you have just cause to regret that men of civil employments should usurp the calling and employment of the ministry, to the scandal of the Reformed kirks. Are you troubled that Christ is preached? Is preaching so exclusively your function? Doth it scandalise the Reformed kirks, and Scotland in particular?

* Referring to the pope of Rome.

Is it against the Covenant? Away with the Covenant, if this be so! I thought the Covenant and these 'professors of it' could have been willing that any should speak good of the name of Christ; if not, it is no covenant of God's approving; nor are these Kirks you mention, in-so-much the spouse of Christ. Where do you find in the Scripture a ground to warrant such an assertion, that preaching is exclusively your function? Though an approbation from men hath order in it, and may do well, yet he that hath no better warrant than that hath none at all. I hope He that ascended up on high may give his gifts to whom he pleases; and if those gifts be the seal of mission, be not you envious though Eldad and Medad prophesy. You know who bids us *covet earnestly the best gifts*, but chiefly *that we may prophesy*; which the apostle explains there to be a speaking to instruction and edification and comfort; which speaking, the instructed, the edified, and comforted can best tell the energy and effect of. If such evidence be, I say again, take heed you envy not for your own sakes, lest you be guilty of a greater fault than Moses reprov'd in Joshua for envying for his sake.

“Indeed you err through mistaking of the Scriptures, Approbation* is an act of conveniency in respect of order; not of necessity, to give faculty to preach the Gospel. Your pretended fear lest error should step in, is like the man who would keep all the wine out of the country lest men should be drunk. It will be found an unjust and unwise jealousy to deprive a man of his natural liberty upon a supposition he may abuse it. When he doth abuse it, judge. If a man speak foolishly, ye suffer him gladly because ye are wise; if erroneously, the truth more appears by your conviction of him. Stop such a man’s mouth by sound words which cannot be gainsaid. If he speak blasphemously, or to the disturbance of the public peace, let the civil magistrate punish him; if truly, rejoice in the truth. And if you will call our speakings together since we came into Scotland, to provoke one another to love and good works, to faith in our Lord Jesus Christ and repentance from dead works, and to charity and love toward you, to pray and mourn for you, and for your bitter returns to ‘our love of you,’ and your in-

* License to preach the Gospel.

credulity of our professions of love to you, of the truth of which we have made our solemn and humble appeals to the Lord our God, which he hath heard and borne witness to—if you will call these things scandalous to the Kirk, and against the Covenant, because done by men of civil callings, we rejoice in them notwithstanding what you say.” *

CHAPTER XXXI.

Edinburgh Castle summoned to Surrender — Hume Castle — Moss-troopers — Sickness of Cromwell — Letter to his Wife — Letter to the President of the Council — Another Letter to his Wife — Letter to Mr. Mayor.

ON the 12th of December Cromwell summons Edinburgh Castle, the governor, soldiers, preachers, stores, and all, to surrender to his forces. This, after considerable correspondence, was done with great reluctance.

After this, during the winter, there seems to have been not many military movements, Cromwell making his head-quarters at Edinburgh. Hume Castle is summoned to surrender in February, to which the governor of the castle re-

* Letters, i, pp. 484, 485.

plies: "I know not Cromwell; and as for my castle, it is built upon a rock." The guns played upon the fortress, while the redoubtable governor, instead of yielding, sends back the following note:

"I, William of the Wastle,
Am now in my castle;
And aw the dogs in the town
Shanna gar me gang down."

"So that there remained nothing but opening the mortars upon this William of the Wastle, which did gar him gang down, more fool than he went up." *

There seems to have been also, in the course of this winter, some skirmishes with "moss-troopers," a class nearly or quite identical with modern guerrillas.

Toward the close of the winter, Cromwell, from overmuch exposure, was seized with a dangerous illness, from which he did not fully recover till the following summer. One or two letters, written amid these days, are not without interest.

To his wife he writes, under date of April 12, 1651, as follows:

*Letters, i, pp. 513, 514.

“MY DEAREST: I praise the Lord I am increased in strength in my outward man. But that will not satisfy me except I get a heart to love and serve my heavenly Father better, and get more of the light of his countenance, which is better than life, and more power over my corruptions; in these hopes I wait, and am not without expectation of a gracious return. Pray for me; truly I do daily for thee, and the dear family; and God Almighty bless you with all his spiritual blessings.

“Mind poor Betty of the Lord’s great mercy. O, I desire her not only to seek the Lord in her necessity, but in deed and in truth to turn to the Lord; and to keep close to him; and to take heed of a departing heart, and of being cozened with worldly vanities and worldly company, which I doubt she is too subject to. I earnestly and frequently pray for her, and for him. Truly they are dear to me, very dear; and I am in fear lest Satan should deceive them, knowing how weak our hearts are, and how subtle the adversary is, and what way the deceitfulness of our hearts and the vain world make for his temptations. The Lord give them truth of heart to him. Let

them seek him in truth, and they shall find him.

“My love to the dear little ones ; I pray for grace for them. I thank them for their letters ; let me have them often.

“Beware of my Lord Herbert’s resort to your house. If he do so it may occasion scandal, as if I were bargaining with him. Indeed be wise ; you know my meaning: Mind Sir Henry Vane of the business of my estate. Mr. Floyd knows my whole mind in that matter.

“If Dick Cromwell and his wife be with you, my dear love to them. I pray for them ; they shall, God willing, hear from me. I love them very dearly. Truly I am not able, as yet, to write much ; I am weary, and rest thine,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”

A few days previous to penning the above letter to his wife he thus addresses the president of the Council of State :

“MY LORD: I do with all humble thankfulness acknowledge your high favor and tender respect of me, expressed in your letter ; and

the express sent therewith to inquire after one so unworthy as myself.

“Indeed, my lord, your service needs not me; I am a poor creature, and have been a dry bone, and am still an unprofitable servant to my Master and you. I thought I should have died of this fit of sickness; but the Lord seemeth to dispose otherwise. But truly, my lord, I desire not to live unless I may obtain mercy from the Lord to approve my heart and life to him in more faithfulness and thankfulness, and to those I serve in more profitableness and diligence.

“And I pray God your lordship, and all in public trust, may improve all those unparalleled experiences of the Lord’s wonderful workings in your sight with singleness of heart to his glory, and the refreshment of his people, who are to him as the apple of his eye; and upon whom your enemies, both former and latter, who have fallen before you, did split themselves.

“This shall be the unfeigned prayer of, my lord,

“Your most humble servant,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”

On the 3d of May he addresses another brief note to his wife, as follows :

“MY DEAREST: I could not satisfy myself to omit this post, although I have not much to write; yet, indeed, I love to write to my dear, who is very much in my heart. It joys me to hear thy soul prospereth; the Lord increase his favors to thee more and more. The greatest good thy soul can wish is, that the Lord lift upon thee the light of his countenance, which is better than life. The Lord bless all thy good counsel and example to all those about thee, and hear all thy prayers, and accept thee always!

“I am glad to hear thy son and daughter are with thee. I hope thou wilt have some good opportunity of good advice to him. Present my duty to my mother, my love to all the family. Still pray for thine,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”

Indeed, the interest of his son Richard, to whom he alludes in the preceding letter, seems to lie very near the father's heart. Some time afterward he thus writes to Mr. Mayor :

“I desire your faithfulness to advise him to

approve himself to the Lord in his course of life; and to search his statutes for a rule to conscience, and to seek grace from Christ to enable him to walk therein. This hath life in it, and will come to somewhat; what is a poor creature without this? This will not abridge of lawful pleasures; but teach such a use of them as will have the peace of a good conscience going along with it. Sir, I write what is in my heart; I pray you communicate my mind herein to my son, and be his remembrancer in these things. Truly I love him, he is dear to me; so is his wife; and for their sakes do I thus write. They shall not want comfort nor encouragement from me, so far as I may afford it. . . . Sir, I beseech you believe I here say not this to save my purse; for I shall willingly do what is convenient to satisfy his occasions, as I have opportunity. But as I pray he may not walk in a course not pleasing to the Lord, so I think it lieth upon me to give him, in love, the best counsel I may; and know not how better to convey it to him than by so good a hand as yours. Sir, I pray you acquaint him with these thoughts of mine.” *

* Letters, i, 542.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Battle and Victory of Inverkeithing — Other Victories — King and Scotch suddenly enter England — Cromwell in hot pursuit — Battle of Worcester — Great and decisive Victory — Cromwell's Report — Great Rejoicings — The last Battle — Scotland — Bishop Burnet — Other Historians.

ANOTHER important battle and victory occurred about the middle of July, remembered afterward as the battle of Inverkeithing. Cromwell reporting this fight to parliament, writes :

“They (his forces) came to a close charge, and in the end totally routed the enemy, having taken about forty or fifty colors, killed near two thousand, some say more ; have taken Sir John Brown, their major-general, who commanded in chief, and other colonels, and considerable officers killed and taken, and about five or six hundred prisoners. The enemy is removed from their ground with their whole army ; but whither we do not certainly know.

“This is an unspeakable mercy. I trust the Lord will follow it until he have perfected peace

and truth. We can truly say we were gone as far as we could in our counsel and action ; and we did say one to another, We know not what to do. Wherefore, it's sealed upon our hearts, that this, as all the rest, is from the Lord's goodness, and not from man. I hope it becometh me to pray, that we may walk humbly and self-denyingly before the Lord, and believingly also ; that you whom we serve, as the authority over us, may do the work committed to you with uprightness and faithfulness, and thoroughly as to the Lord ; that you may not suffer anything to remain that offends the eyes of his jealousy ; that common weal may more and more be sought, and justice done impartially. For the eyes of the Lord run to and fro ; and as he finds out his enemies here, to be avenged on them, so will he not spare them for whom he doth good, if by his loving-kindness they become not good. I shall take the humble boldness to represent this engagement of David's, in the hundred and nineteenth Psalm, verse hundred and thirty-fourth, 'Deliver me from the oppression of man, so will I keep thy precepts.' "

Other victories followed in rapid succession,

until the Scotch, both king and army, finding their supplies cut off, break up suddenly from Stirling, and march straight into England, determined to strike directly at the heart of the commonwealth itself. Cromwell follows in hot pursuit, and comes up with the Scotch army at Worcester, where Charles's standard had been erected.

This was August 28; and on the 3d of September, the anniversary of the battle of Dunbar, occurred the great and decisive battle of Worcester.

One or two extracts from Cromwell's report to parliament will present a sufficient view of this fight.

"This battle," he writes, "was fought with various success for some hours, but still hopeful on your part; and, in the end, became an absolute victory; and so full an one as proved a total defeat and ruin of the enemy's army; and a possession of the town, our men entering at the enemy's heels, and fighting with them in the streets with very great courage. We took all their baggage and artillery. What the slain are I can give you no account, because we have not taken an exact view; but they are

very many; and must needs be so, because the dispute was long and very near at hand; and often at push of pike, and from one defense to another. There are about six or seven thousand prisoners taken here; and many officers and noblemen of quality. . . . Their army was about sixteen thousand strong, and fought ours on Worcester side of Severn almost with their whole force, while we had engaged half our army on the other side but with parties of theirs. Indeed it was a stiff business; yet I do not think we have lost two hundred men. . . . The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts. It is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy. Surely, if it be not, such a one we shall have, if this provoke those who are concerned in it to thankfulness; and the parliament to do the will of Him who hath done his will for it and for the nation; whose good pleasure it is to establish the nation and the change of the government, by making the people so willing to the defense thereof, and so signally blessing the endeavors of your servants in this late great work. I am bold humbly to beg that all thoughts may tend to the promoting His honor who hath wrought so great salvation;

and that the fatness of these continued mercies may not occasion pride and wantonness, as formerly the like hath done to a chosen nation;* but that the fear of the Lord, even for his mercies, may keep an authority and a people so prospered and blessed and witnessed unto, humble and faithful; and that justice and righteousness, mercy and truth, may flow from you as a thankful return to our gracious God. This shall be the prayer of, sir,

“Your most humble and obedient servant,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”

On the following Sabbath, by order of parliament, the report was read from all the London pulpits with general rejoicings and thanksgivings. On the succeeding Friday, September 12, Lord General Cromwell came to London; came “in very great solemnity and triumph; speaker and parliament and council of state, sheriffs, mayors, and an innumerable multitude of quality and not of quality—all were in attendance and splitting the welkin with their human shoutings, and volleys of great shot and small; in the midst of which Lord General Cromwell

* “Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked.” Deut. xxxii, 15.

carried himself with much affability. And now and afterward, in all his discourses about Worcester, would seldom mention anything of himself; mentioned others only, and gave, as was due, the glory of the action unto God."

"This, then," adds Carlyle, "is the last of my lord general's victories, technically so called. Of course, his life, to the very end of it, continues as from the beginning it had always been, *a battle*, and a dangerous and strenuous one, with due modicum of victory assigned now and then; but it will be with other than steel weapons henceforth. He here sheaths his war-sword; with that it is not his order from the great Captain that he fight any more." *

Meanwhile, Lieutenant-General Monk soon closed up matters in Scotland; and that country, as well as Ireland, came under the administration of Cromwell; and such were the wisdom and moderation with which affairs were settled there that, according to Bishop Burnet, "there was good justice done, and vice was suppressed and punished; so that we always reckon these eight years of usurpation a time of great peace and prosperity." †

* Letters, i, pp. 556, 557.

† "Cromwell's Administration."

Dr. Huntingdon, the historian of the Scottish Church, also testifies that "throughout the whole of Scotland, during the period of Cromwell's domination, there prevailed a degree of civil peace beyond what had almost ever before been experienced."

Another Scotch historian, writing of the same period, still further testifies: "I verily believe there were more souls converted to Christ in that short period of time than in any season since the Reformation, though of triple its duration."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Cromwell to Rev. John Cotton of New England — Death of his Son-in-law, Ireton — Letter of Cromwell to his Daughter.

AN interesting letter is preserved of Cromwell's, written to the famous Rev. John Cotton of New England. It appears to have been written about a fortnight after his return home, and was addressed to "My esteemed friend, Mr. Cotton, pastor of the Church at Boston, in New England."

There is a kind of special interest in the thought that Oliver Cromwell, at the height of his renown, and only thirty-one years after the landing of the Pilgrims, directs, for an hour, his clear eye over the sea, and speaks to one of the New England Puritans, and speaks such words as these :

LONDON, *2d October*, 1651.

“WORTHY SIR, AND MY CHRISTIAN FRIEND :
I received yours a few days since. It was welcome to me because signed by you, whom I love and honor in the Lord ; but more so to see some of the same grounds of our actings stirring in you that are in us, to quiet us in our work, and support us therein ; which hath had great difficulty in Scotland, by reason we have had to do with some who were, I very think, godly, but through weakness and subtilty of Satan were involved against the interests of the Lord and his people.

“With what tenderness we have proceeded with such, and that in sincerity, our papers (which I suppose you have seen) will, in part, manifest ; and I give you some comfortable assurance of the same. The Lord hath marvelously appeared even against them. And now,

again, when all the power was devolved into the Scottish king and the malignant party—they invading England—the Lord rained upon them such snares, as the inclosed will show. Only the narrative is short in this, that of their whole army, when the narrative was framed, not five men had returned.

“Surely, sir, the Lord is greatly to be feared and to be praised! We need your prayers in this as much as ever. How shall we behave ourselves after such mercies? What is the Lord a-doing? What prophecies are now fulfilling? Who is a God like ours? To know his will, to do his will, are both of him.

“I took this liberty from business to salute you thus in a word. Truly I am ready to serve you, and the rest of your brethren and Churches with you. I am a poor weak creature, and not worthy the name of a worm; yet accepted to serve the Lord and his people. Indeed, my dear friend, between you and me, you know not me—my weakness, my inordinate passions, my unskillfulness, and every way unfitness to my work. Yet, yet the Lord, who will have mercy on whom he will, does as you see! Pray for

me. Salute all Christian friends, though unknown.

“I rest, your affectionate friend to serve you,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”

Two months after the date of the above letter, a heavy shadow darkens the house of Cromwell. His son-in-law, Ireton, whom he had left as his deputy in Ireland, suddenly died there. He had married Bridget Cromwell about five years before, who was now, at the early age of twenty-seven, left a widow. Alas, for the early perishing of earthly hopes! And, with such a view, how rational are such sentiments as follow, penned to her, a few months after her marriage, by her honored father:

“LONDON, 25th *October*, 1646.

“DEAR DAUGHTER: I write not to thy husband; partly to avoid trouble, for one line of mine begets many of his, which I doubt not makes him sit up too late; partly because I am myself indisposed* at this time, having some other considerations.

“Your friends at Ely are well; your sister

* Not in a mood to write.

Claypole is, I trust in mercy, exercised with some perplexed thoughts. She sees her own vanity and carnal mind—bewailing it; she seeks after (as I hope also) what will satisfy; and thus to be a seeker is to be of the best sect next to a finder; and such a one shall every faithful, humble seeker be at the end. Happy seeker, happy finder! Who ever tasted that the Lord is gracious without some sense of self-vanity and badness? Who ever tasted that graciousness of his, and could go less in desire, less than pressing after full enjoyment? Dear heart, press on; let not husband—let not anything cool thy affections after Christ. I hope he will be an occasion to inflame them. That which is best worthy of love in thy husband is that of the image of Christ he bears. Look on that and love it best, and all the rest for that. I pray for thee and him; do so for me. Thy dear father.”

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Ireland and Scotland — England — Rump Parliament unpopular — Urged to dissolve Itself — Refuses — Attempts passing a Bill to perpetuate Itself — The News reported to Cromwell — He forcibly dissolves the Parliament — Dismisses the Council of State.

WE have seen that the English arms, under the generalship of Cromwell, had been successful in Ireland and Scotland; and affairs in those countries seemed to be in a way of prosperous settlement. At the same time, matters in England were in a condition becoming more and more unsatisfactory to the people. The Rump Parliament, as it was nicknamed since the famous Pride's Purge, was daily growing more and more unpopular, and was attacked by every party. Nor did it at all add to its good repute with the people, that it seemed inclined to perpetuate itself indefinitely. On the other hand, the expressed wish coming in from all sides, as well of the people as of the army, urged the parliament to dissolve itself. This it persistently refused to do; but at its sitting, on

the 20th of April, 1653, was in the act of passing a bill for prolonging its own duration. Cromwell at the same hour was at his lodgings at Whitehall, with a council of officers. A message being brought to him of what was passing in parliament, he exclaimed with great excitement and indignation, "It is not honest; yea, it is contrary to common honesty." He then hastened down to the House, followed by a company of musketeers, whom he left in the lobby. He entered the hall, and composedly seated himself in his usual place, listening attentively to the debate. His dress was a plain suit of black cloth, with gray worsted stockings, the ordinary costume of the Puritans. For about a quarter of an hour he sat still; but when the speaker was going to put the question, he whispered to Lieutenant-general Harrison, "This is the time, I must do it." . . .

"After pausing for a minute, Cromwell arose, and, taking off his hat, addressed the members at first in laudatory terms. Gradually becoming warmer and more vehement, he charged them with injustice and self-interest, and then declared that he had come down to put an end to a power of which they had made such bad use.

He was very excited, walking up and down, and occasionally stamping the floor with his feet. 'You are no parliament,' he said, 'I'll put an end to your sitting. Some of you are drunkards, (and he pointed to those whom he had in view;) others live a corrupt and scandalous life, (and his eye glanced formidably upon them.) I say you are no parliament. Get you gone! Give way to honester men!' And stamping his foot his musketeers rushed in and surrounded him, and presently the House was cleared. There was some blustering and protesting; but not a man offered to draw his sword against Cromwell, or to make any resistance, but all tamely departed from the House. The doors were then locked, and Cromwell, with the keys in his pocket, returned to Whitehall. Arriving, he told the council of officers, still assembled there, what he had done, and added: 'When I went to the House I did not think to have done this; but perceiving the Spirit of God strong upon me, I would no longer consult flesh and blood.'"

On the afternoon of the same memorable day he dismissed also the Council of State. Proceeding to Derby House, where they were

assembled, he said to them as he entered, "Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons you shall not be disturbed; but if as a council of state this is no place for you; and, since you cannot but know what was done at the House in the morning, so take notice that the parliament is dissolved." After a few words they all arose and departed, "perceiving themselves to be under the same violence."

Thus expired—expired by violence—the famous Long Parliament. "Such," says Carlyle, "was the destructive wrath of my Lord-general Cromwell against the national Rump Parliament of England. Wrath which innumerable mortals since have accounted extremely diabolic, which some now begin to account partly divine. Divine or diabolic, it is an indisputable fact, left for the commentaries of men. The Rump Parliament has gone its ways; and truly, except it be in their own, I know not in what eyes are tears at their departure. They went very softly, softly as a dream, say all witnesses. 'We did not hear a dog bark at their going,' asserts my lord-general elsewhere."*

* Letters, ii, 28, 29.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Cromwell issues an Explanation — He nominates a new Parliament — It assembles July 4, 1653 — Grave Inquiries — Cromwell's Views of the Situation — Fanatical Element — He claims Inspiration — Apology for his Extraordinary Conduct.

A DECLARATION was immediately issued by Cromwell and his advisers, setting forth the grounds and reasons for dissolving the parliament. Dilatoriness, wavering, selfishness, corruption, and mutual jealousies were alleged against the members, who could never “answer those ends which God, and his people, and the whole nation expected from them. Hence, it seemed a duty incumbent upon those who had seen so much of the power and presence of God to consider some effective means whereby to establish righteousness and peace in these nations.”

It was finally determined that the supreme government should be devolved upon “known persons fearing God, and of approved integrity, for a time, as the most hopeful way to coun-

tenance all God's people, reform the law, and administer justice impartially."

Accordingly, on the 6th of June, one hundred and fifty-six persons, from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, were summoned by writ, simply under the authority of Cromwell, to meet in the Council Chamber at Whitehall, and to take upon them the trust of providing for the future government."

On the 4th of July following, one hundred and twenty of these persons, of Cromwell's own selection, assembled at the place appointed.

The thoughtful young reader will inquire, "What of all this? Were these extraordinary proceedings justifiable and right? In violently breaking up the parliament, and in assuming to appoint another in its place, did he act the part of a good and righteous man?"

Unhesitatingly we reply that we think not. High-handed measures these, and to be justified only in the most extreme cases. But it must be remembered that Cromwell really supposed such extremities had arisen. He seems to have judged that the country would be lost unless he should violently and, as we may say, lawlessly interfere. That such was his deep conviction

there can be no reasonable doubt; and in judging his conduct we should allow him the benefit of such an impression.

We have here further evidence that a degree of fanaticism was mixed up with the sincere and ardent piety by which Cromwell seemed to be ever actuated. It is quite observable that he often took it for granted that the voice of God spoke directly to him, and urged him onward. In the act of breaking up the parliament, and as the paramount reason for his conduct in this matter, he perceived (as he thought) "the Spirit of God strong upon him, and he would no longer consult flesh and blood." Here was as decided a claim to inspiration as was maintained for himself by the Apostle Paul. And while very few of us are ready to yield to Cromwell this high claim, yet his own views of this matter, associated with the sublime piety which seems to have been constant with him as the vestal flame, should have the effect to mitigate, to a very considerable extent, our disapprobation of the man and his acts. That in the honesty and piety of his heart he "verily thought he ought to do" as he did, and that to his dying hour he never came to think differ-

ently, are facts which we think have never been disproved, and never can be. It was his idea—clear to him as if written on the sky—that he had an extraordinary call to interfere violently, and without law, for the great cause of civil and religious liberty, and the safety and welfare of his country. This conviction was inwrought into the man, and inseparable from him, and is the key to his whole extraordinary career.

Thus viewing and interpreting Oliver Cromwell, let us still follow him as he advances to accomplish his remarkable destiny.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The “Little Parliament” — “Barebone” — Cromwell’s Speech to the Parliament — Descants on various Topics — Title adopted by the Parliament — Council of State reappointed — Result unsatisfactory and unsuccessful — Parliament resigned after five Months’ Session.

It is said that only two out of all that were summoned to compose this “Assembly of Notables” failed to attend. It met, as we have seen, July 4, 1653, and bears the name of the “Little

Parliament." It was also nicknamed "Barebone's Parliament," from the circumstance that one of its members had the name of Praisegod Barebone, a leather merchant of London.

All being assembled in the Council Chamber in Whitehall, and seated in chairs provided for them, his Excellency Lord-General Cromwell, accompanied by as many army officers as the room could contain, entered the hall and addressed them in a grave and lengthy speech.

In this speech he stated to the assembly the cause of their summons; that they had a clear call to take upon them the supreme authority of the Commonwealth. He reminded them of the wonders of God's mercy, shown to himself in the battles he had fought from the beginning of the civil war "down to the marvelous salvation wrought at Worcester." He insisted that he and his friends had been eminently and visibly protected by the special providences of the Almighty, and alleged that their enemies themselves had many times confessed that God was engaged against them. He explained his action in the dissolution of the Long Parliament; that such dissolution was as necessary as the preservation of the country; and he urged it upon

those before him that God had called them to the work of the government by as wonderful providences as ever passed upon the sons of men, and that he meant to be a servant to them who were called to the exercise of the supreme authority.

He dwelt much upon the religious interests of the people, beseeching the new parliament to have a care of the whole flock of Christ, to countenance all in whatever was good; to protect all, even the meanest and poorest, who aimed to lead a godly life; to lend their endeavors to the promotion of the Gospel; to encourage the ministry, especially such as were faithful in the land. He expressed little regard for what was termed *succession* in the ministry. "The true succession" he says, "is through the Spirit given in its measure. The Spirit is given for that use to make proper speakers-forth of God's eternal truth; and that is right succession." He counts it one of the great issues of all the wars and trials of the nation, that now the people of God are called to the supreme authority; and tells them that he had not allowed himself in the choice of a single one of them in whom he had not the good hope that

there was in him a faith in Jesus Christ, and love to all his people and saints.

“What a parliament!” exclaims Carlyle, “unexampled before and since in this world!”

Many other things were uttered in this long speech, which must have occupied one or two hours in the delivery.

The assembly adopted for themselves the name of “The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England;” and after prayer, fasting, and preaching, proceeded to business. They reappointed the late Council of State, of which Cromwell was the head.

The result of this parliament was, on the whole, unsatisfactory and unsuccessful; and, after a session of five months, they resigned to the lord-general the powers which he had intrusted to them, and returned to private life.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Establishment of the Protectorate — Cromwell Lord Protector — Inauguration — Imposing Ceremonies — Cromwell's personal Appearance at this time.

IMMEDIATELY the Lord-General Cromwell called a council of officers, and certain other persons, and it was resolved that there should be a commonwealth *in a single person*; and that this person should be Cromwell, under the title and dignity of *Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland*; to be advised and assisted by a council of godly, able, and discreet persons, to be not more than twenty-one.

The inauguration of the lord protector was an imposing ceremony. On the 16th of December he proceeded from Whitehall to the Chancery Court, attended by lords commissioners of the great seal of England, the barons of the Exchequer, and the judges all in their robes, the council of state, the lord mayor, aldermen, and recorder of the city of London, in their scarlet gowns, and many of the chief officers of the army. A chair of state was set in the midst

of the Court of Chancery, and there Cromwell, in a plain suit of black velvet, stood on the left hand of the chair, uncovered, till a large writing in parchment was read, specifying the power with which he was to be invested, and the rules for governing the three nations.

After the reading of the instrument of government he appended to it his signature, promising in the presence of God not to violate or infringe the matters and things therein contained.

He then sat down in the chair of state, and the lords commissioners delivered to him the great seal of England, and the lord mayor his sword, and cap of maintenance. The court then rose, and the newly-installed protector went back in state to the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, the lord mayor carrying the sword before him all the way, the soldiers shouting, and the great guns firing. On the following day the lord protector was proclaimed by sound of trumpet in the palace yard, at Westminster, at the Royal Exchange, and other places in the city. *

The personal appearance of Cromwell on this great occasion, and at this period of his life, aged fifty-four, is thus presented to us by Carlyle :

* Various authors.

“His highness was in a rich but plain suit; black velvet, with cloak of the same; about his hat a broad band of gold. Does the reader see him? A rather likely figure, I think. Stands some five feet ten, or more; a man of strong, solid stature, and dignified, now partly military carriage; the expression of him valor and devout intelligence, energy and delicacy on a basis of simplicity. Fifty-four years old gone April last; brown hair and mustache are getting gray. A figure of sufficient impressiveness; not lovely to the man-milliner, nor pretending to be so. Massive stature, big, massive head, of somewhat leonine aspect; wart above the right eyebrow; nose of considerable blunt aquiline proportions; strict yet copious lips, full of all tremulous sensibilities, and also, if need were, of all fierceness and rigors; deep, loving eyes, call them grave, call them stern, looking from those craggy brows as if in life-long sorrow, and yet not thinking it sorrow, thinking it only labor and endeavor; on the whole, a right noble lion-face and hero-face; and to me royal enough.” *

* Letters, i, pp. 64, 65.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The Instrument of Government — Remark — The new Government recognized by European Powers.

THE following is the main substance of the instrument of government which the lord protector at his inauguration swore to administer :

The instrument declared that the supreme legislative authority should be and reside in the lord protector and the people assembled in parliament ; that all writs, processes, commissions, patents, etc., which then ran in the name and style of the keepers of the liberty of England, should run in the name and style of the lord protector ; from whom, for the future, should be derived all magistracy and honors, and all pardon, except in cases of murder and treason ; that he should govern in all things by the advice of the council, and according to the present instrument and laws ; that the militia and all forces both by sea and land should, during the sitting of parliament, be in his and their hands, but in the intervals of parliament in his and

the council's only; that he and the council should have the power of making war and peace with foreign princes; that the laws should not be altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, nor any new law made, nor any tax, charge, or imposition laid upon the people, except by common consent in parliament; that a parliament should be called within six months, and afterward every third year, and if need, oftener, which the protector should not dissolve without its own consent till after five months; that the parliament should consist of four hundred English members, thirty Scotch members, and thirty Irish, to be chosen by equal distribution in counties and boroughs; that none that had borne arms against the parliament, no Irish rebels or papists, should be capable of being elected; that none should be elected under the age of twenty-one years, or that were not persons of known integrity, fearing God and of good conversation; that all persons seized or possessed of any estate, real or personal, to the value of £200, should have votes in county elections; that sixty members should be deemed a quorum; that bills offered to the protector, if not assented to by him within twenty days,

should pass into and become law notwithstanding; that Philip Lord Viscount Lisle, Charles Fleetwood, Esq., John Lambert, Esq., Sir Gilbert Pickering, baronet, Sir Charles Wolsey, baronet, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, baronet, Edward Montague, John Desborough, Walter Strickland, Henry Lawrence, William Sydenham, Philip Jones, Richard Major, Francis Rouse, Philip Skipton, Esquires, or any seven of them, should be a council of government, with power in the lord protector and the majority of the council to add to their number; that a regular yearly revenue should be settled for the maintenance of ten thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, and that the navy should not be altered or lessened but by advice of the council; that the office of lord protector should be elective, and not hereditary, care being taken that none of the children of the late king, nor any of his line or family, should ever be elected; that Oliver Cromwell, captain-general of the forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland, should be declared to be lord protector for life; that all the great officers, as chancellor, keeper or commissioner of the great seal, treasurer, admiral, chief governors of Ireland and Scotland,

and the chief justices of both the benches, should be chosen by approbation of parliament, and in the intervals of parliament by the majority of the council, whose choice was to be afterward approved by the parliament; that the Christian religion, as contained in the Scriptures, should be held forth and recommended as the public profession of these nations; that, as soon as might be, a provision less subject than tithes to scruple, and contention, and uncertainty, should be made for the encouragement and maintenance of able and painful teachers, and that, until such provision were made, the present maintenance should not be taken away or impeached; that none should be compelled to consent to the public profession of faith by fines, or penalties, or otherwise, but that endeavors should be used to win them by persuasion or example; and that such as professed faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline publicly held forth, should not be restrained from, but protected in the exercise of their religion, so that they did not quarrel and disturb others in the exercise of theirs, provided that this liberty were not extended to

Popery or Prelacy, or to such as under the profession of Christ held forth and practiced licentiousness.” *

But slight exceptions can be taken with these provisions, save that relating to Popery and Prelacy. The great and true idea of universal toleration was not as yet matured.

We merely add that the new government was at once recognized by the several courts of Europe.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The New Parliament — Opened with great Pomp — The Protector's Speech — Important Suggestions.

WRITS for the new parliament were issued, and the parliament assembled, as provided, Sept. 3, 1654. It was the first election in England during fourteen years. The opening of the parliament was with great pomp and display. “The protector rode in state from Whitehall to the Abbey Church in Westminster. Some hundreds of gentlemen and officers went before him bare, with the life-guard; and next before

* Pictorial History, iii, pp. 399, 400.

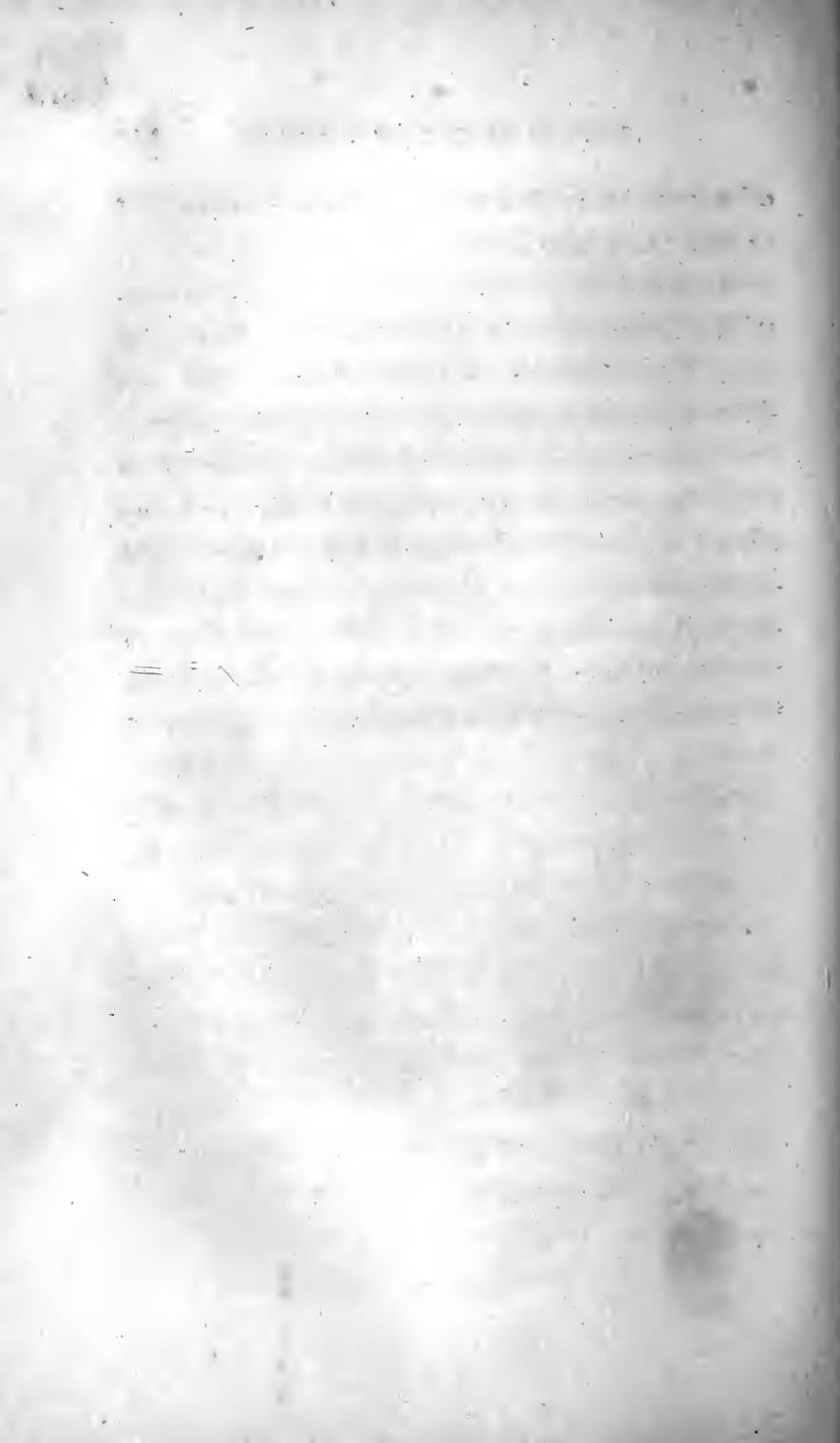
the coach his pages and lackeys richly clothed. On the one side of his coach went Strickland, one of his council and captain of his guard, with the master of the ceremonies, both on foot. On the other side went Howard, captain of the life-guard. In the coach with him were his son Henry, and Lambert; both sat bare. After him came Claypole, master of the horse, with a gallant led horse richly trapped. Next came the commissioners of the great seal, commissioners of the treasury, and divers of the council in coaches; last the ordinary guards.

“He alighting at the Abbey Church door and entering, the officers of the army and the gentlemen went first; next them four maces; then the commissioners of the seal, Whitlocke carrying the purse; after him Lambert, carrying the sword bare; the rest followed. His highness was seated over against the pulpit, the members of the parliament on both sides.

“After the sermon, which was preached by Mr. Thomas Goodwin, his highness went in the same equipage to the Painted Chamber, where he took his seat in a chair of state set upon steps, and the members upon benches round about—all bare. All being silent, his highness,



House of Commons in Cromwell's Time.



rising, put off his hat, and made a large and subtile speech to them." *

Among other things, in this long speech, the protector warned the parliament against the anarchic principles of the Levelers and the Fifth Monarchy men; that the common enemy was not sleeping; that swarms of Jesuits were invading the country, and meddling with the affairs of England, Scotland, and Ireland. He commended the new government that had been instituted, asserting that it had endeavored to reform the laws, had appointed suitable persons to simplify and revise them, had been careful to place in the seats of justice men of the most known integrity and ability; that the Chancery had been reformed, he hoped, to the satisfaction of all good men; that appropriate commissions had been established for examining candidates for the ministry, and for dismissing such incumbents as proved themselves unworthy of their office; and that a free parliament had been called which, he hoped above his life, would be kept free. As he closed he said: "I persuade you to a sweet, gracious, and holy understanding of one another, and of your business. . . .

* Whitlocke, quoted by Carlyle.

I have not spoken these things as one who assumes to himself dominion over you; but as one who doth resolve to be a fellow-servant with you to the interest of these great affairs and of the people of these nations.”

“At this speech all generally seemed abundantly to rejoice, by extraordinary expressions and hums at the conclusion—Hum-m-m! His highness withdrew into the old House of Lords, and the members of parliament into the Parliament House. His highness, so soon as the parliament were gone to their House, went back to Whitehall privately in his barge by water.”*

CHAPTER XL.

Parliament reveals a formidable Party opposed to the Government — Opposition Speeches — A Summons to the Painted Chamber — Another Speech by Cromwell — Government not to be called in Question — A Pledge required of each Member — More than a Hundred decline the Pledge and retire.

It immediately appeared that this parliament embraced a formidable number who were unfavorable to Cromwell and to the protectorate

* Carlyle.

government, under whose auspices and authority they were elected and assembled. Accordingly, their very first deliberations were upon the question of the government itself. One member declared that God had made him instrumental in cutting down tyranny in one person, (Charles I.,) and now he could not endure to see the nation's liberty ready to be shackled by another, (Cromwell,) whose right to the government could be measured out no other way than by the length of his sword. In the same style were many speeches made, all in direct opposition to a single person.

Thus affairs proceeded in the parliament during eight days, when Cromwell summoned all the members before him in the "Painted Chamber," and again addressed them at length. He gave them to understand that the government by a single person and a parliament was a fundamental principle, fully established, and not subject to their discussion; that the "Instrument of Government" expressly provided that no parliamentary bills should contain anything in them contrary to the clauses of the said instrument; that the same Instrument of Government that made them a parliament

made him a protector; that as they were instructed with some things, so was he with others; that these fundamentals could not be called in question; that the fundamentals were, 1. That the government should be in one person and a parliament. 2. That parliament should not be made perpetual. 3. That the militia was not to be trusted to any one hand or power, but to be so disposed that the parliament should have a check upon the protector, and the protector upon the parliament; and, 4. That in matters of religion there should be a due liberty of conscience, with bounds and limits set, so as to prevent persecution. All other points he assumed, then, were examinable and alterable as the occasion and the state of affairs might require; that they were a free parliament so long as they recognized the government and authority that assembled them. Warming with his subject, the protector affirmed, "I called not myself to this place. I say again, I called not myself to this place; of that God is witness. . . . If my calling be from God, and my testimony from the people, God and the people shall take it from me, else I will not part with it." At the same time, he sol-

emply assured them that the protectorship was not his own choice. "I say to you," he continues, "I hoped to have had leave to retire to private life. I begged to be dismissed of my charge; I begged it again and again; and God be judge between me and all men if I lie in this matter. That I lie not in matter of fact is known to very many; but whether I tell a lie in my heart, as laboring to represent to you what was not upon my heart, I say, the Lord be judge! Let uncharitable men, who measure others by themselves, judge as they please; as to the matter of fact, I say it is true. But I could not obtain what I desired, what my soul longed for."

The protector concluded his address to the parliament by requiring each one of them, before he should be admitted again into the Parliament House, to sign the following instrument: "I do hereby freely promise and engage myself to be true and faithful to the lord protector and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and shall not (according to the tenor of the indenture whereby I am returned to serve in this present parliament) propose or give my consent to alter the government

as it is settled in a single person and a parliament."

This pledge was placed on the table, near the door of the Parliament House, and a hundred or more signed it at once; about three hundred ultimately. The remainder, a hundred or more, utterly declined the test, and returned home.

CHAPTER XLI.

Opposition of Parliament persisted in — The Various Articles of the Instrument of Government canvassed — Religious Toleration discountenanced — No Communication with the Protector — Another Summons to the Painted Chamber — Protector's Speech — Parliament dissolved.

THE speech of the protector to the parliament, and the pledge of recognition of the government, seemed to have but little influence with them, and their main proceedings were a species of opposition measures. They at once voted that the recognition comprehended only that part of the Instrument of Government which concerned the government of the Commonwealth by a single person and successive parliaments. Thus they deemed themselves at liberty

to deliberate upon all the other of the forty-two articles of the instrument; and, in committee of the whole, proceeded to canvass the whole of them, and to confirm or reject them as they saw fit. They began to trench seriously upon religious liberty, for the maintenance of which Cromwell was always so strenuous an advocate; and, under Presbyterian influence, which was strong in the parliament, they voted that none should be tolerated who did not profess the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Accordingly they appointed a committee to draw up a catalogue of these doctrines; and by the sixteen fundamental articles reported by this committee, Deists, Socinians, Papists, Arians, Antinomians, and Quakers, all were excluded from toleration. And thus was about to be sacrificed one of the great and prominent objects for which so much blood and treasure had been devoted.

During the five months within which the parliament could not be prorogued—in all this time they did much in doing nothing—they had not presented a single bill to the protector; they had not honored him with the slightest communication; and they had not voted him

a sixpence for meeting the expenses of the government.

Hence, as soon as the five months were ended, the protector again summoned the members of the parliament to the Painted Chamber, and addressed them in another lengthy speech. He told them he regretted that they should have lost so good an opportunity of establishing a national government; that he had carefully declined to intrench upon their privileges; that he had offered them no manner of interruption or hinderance; no injury, no indignity; no vexing with messages or questionings. He assumed the liberty to tell them that he did not know what they had been doing; that he did not know whether they had been alive or dead; that he had not once heard from them during all their session, and they knew it well. He further proceeded to tell them what he had been doing, and what the enemies of the country had been doing: that while they had been disputing, the enemies of the country had been at work; that the Cavalier party had been designing and preparing to deluge again the nation with blood and confusion more desperate and dangerous than England ever yet saw.

He assured them the enemies of the state had confessed that they built their hopes upon the assurances they had of the parliament; that they had given these enemies great advantages, by losing the precious moments in their power for effecting the happiness of the people. "You might," he tells them with terrible emphasis, "you might have settled peace and quietness among all professing godliness; you might have healed the breaches of these nations, and rendered them secure and well satisfied. You have done none of these things. But, instead of that, you have been disputing about things already settled by the constitution. You have thus consumed all your time, and have done nothing."

On the subject of civil liberty he hurls at them these rasping sentences: "Is there not yet upon the spirits of men a strange itch? Nothing will satisfy them unless they can press their finger upon their brethren's consciences, to pinch them there. To do this was no part of the contest we had with the common adversary. For, indeed, religion was not the thing at first contested for at all; but God brought it to that issue at last, and gave it

unto us by way of redundancy; and at last it proved to be that which was most dear to us. And wherein consisted this more than in obtaining that liberty from the tyranny of the bishops to all species of Protestants to worship God according to their own light and consciences? For want of which many of our brethren forsook their native countries to seek their bread from strangers, and to live in howling wildernesses, [*our poor brethren of New England!*] and for which also many that remained here were imprisoned and otherwise abused, and made the scorn of the nation. Those that were sound in the faith, how proper was it for them to labor for liberty, that men might not be trampled upon for their consciences! Had not they ‘themselves’ labored, but lately, under the weight of persecution? and was it fit for them to sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty and not to give it? What greater hypocrisy than for those who were oppressed by the bishops to become the greatest oppressors themselves so soon as their yoke was removed? I could wish that they who call for liberty now also had not too much of that spirit if the power were in their hands!”

The protector closed by saying, "I think it my duty to tell you that it is not for the profit of these nations, not for common and public good, for you to continue here any longer. And therefore I do declare unto you that I do dissolve this parliament."

CHAPTER XLII.

Extract from Carlyle — Death of Cromwell's Mother — "Good-Night!"

"So ends," writes Carlyle, "the first protectorate parliament, suddenly, very unsuccessfully. A most poor, hidebound, pedant parliament, which reckoned itself careful of the liberties of England, and was careful only of the sheepskin formulas of these; very blind to the realities of these. Regardless of the facts and clamorous necessities of the present, this parliament considered that its one duty was to tie up the hands of the lord protector well; to give him no supplies, no power; to make him and keep him the bound vassal and errand-man of this and succeeding parliaments. This once well done, they thought all was done; Oliver

thought far otherwise. Their painful new-modeling and rebuilding of the instrument of government, with an eye to the sublime object, was pointing toward completion ; little now but the keystones to be let in, when Oliver suddenly withdrew the centers ! Constitutional arch and ashler-stones, scaffolding, workmen, mortar-troughs, and scaffold poles, sink in swift confusion and disappear, regretted or remembered by no person—not by this editor for one.

“By the arithmetical account of heads in England the lord protector may surmise that he has lost his enterprise. But by the real divine and human worth of thinking souls in England he still believes that he has it ; by this and by a higher mission too ; and ‘will take a little pleasure to lose his life’ before he loses it ! He is not here altogether to count heads or to count costs, this lord protector ; he is in the breach of battle ; placed there, as he understands, by his great Commander : whatsoever his difficulties be, he must fight them, cannot quit them, must fight these till he die. That is the law of his position in the eye of God, and also of men. There is no return for him out of this protectorship he has got into. Called

to this post as I have been, placed in it as I am, 'to quit it, is what I will be willing to be rolled into my grave, and buried with infamy, before I will consent unto!' " *

A month or two before, amid the closing days of that somber autumn, died the aged mother of Cromwell. A little before her death she gave him her blessing in these words: " 'The Lord cause his face to shine upon you, and comfort you in all your adversities; and enable you to do great things for the glory of your most high God, and to be a relief unto his people. My dear son, I leave my heart with thee. A good-night!' and therewith sank into her long sleep. Ninety-four years old, the royalties of Whitehall, says Ludlow very credibly, of small moment to her; 'at the sound of a musket she would often be afraid her son was shot, and could not be satisfied unless she saw him once a day at least.' She, old, weak, wearied one, she cannot help him with his refractory pedant parliaments, with his Anabaptist plotters, royalist assassins, and world-wide confusions; but she bids him be strong, be comforted in God. And so good-night!" †

* Letters, ii, pp. 157, 158.

† Letters, i, 131.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Plots in favor of Charles II. — Hostility to Cromwell — Wildman — Insurrectionary attempts quelled — Foreign Relations Prosperous — The English Fleets — Cromwell interferes for the Persecuted Waldenses — Government of Major-Generals — Remarks of Carlyle.

As the protector could have no assistance from the parliament, no sooner was this dismissed than he determined to seize upon whatever means were within his reach for the safety and prosperity of the country. Various parties were contending against the protector, and there was a conspiracy to bring in Charles Stuart and place him upon the throne. In a multitude of minds there seemed to be a bitter hostility to Cromwell; and not a few who had no sympathy with monarchy, yet appeared to prefer almost anything to the authority of the protector. One Wildman, who was of the parliament members that refused to sign the recognition of the Protestant government, was arrested and imprisoned. At the time of his arrest he was found in his chamber, leaning

upon his elbow and dictating to his amanuensis, "The declaration of the free and well-affected people of England now in arms against the tyrant Oliver Cromwell."

Other serious attempts at insurrection were made, but were all forestalled and quelled by the vigilance and prompt energy of Cromwell.

Meanwhile, the foreign relations of England were at this time decidedly prosperous, and the Protestant government was greatly respected throughout Europe. "Spain and France, at war with each other, both courted the friendship of Cromwell, and neither of them spared any baseness of prostration to secure his alliance. He demanded of Spain that no Englishman should ever be subject to the Inquisition, and that the West Indies and South America should be thrown open to his flag, with a free trade to all English subjects. His fleets were formidable and victorious upon the seas, making conquests in the West Indies, subduing the Barbary pirates in the Mediterranean, and exacting indemnities where England had been insulted. He also, pending a treaty between himself and the French king, compelled that monarch to interfere to restrain the Papal duke of Savoy

from the persecutions which he was inflicting upon the Protestant Waldenses within his dominions.

Meanwhile at home, and as a temporary arrangement, he instituted a strong military government over England and Wales, dividing them into eleven districts, each presided over by a major-general, "who was authorized to exact payments of fines and forfeitures imposed on the royalists, to suppress tumults, and to secure obedience to the existing government." These officers, with the forces under their command, "effectually put down insurrection, and established everywhere the indisputable authority of the protector."

"A terrible protector this," says Carlyle; "no getting of him overset! He has the ring-leaders all in his hand, in prison or still at large; as they love their estates and their life, let them be quiet. He can take your estate; is there not proof enough to take your head, if he pleases? He dislikes shedding blood; but is very apt 'to *barbadoes*' an unruly man; has sent and sends us by hundreds to Barbadoes, so that we have made an active verb of it: Barbadoes you. Safest to let this protector alone!

Charles Stuart withdraws from Middleburgh into the interior of obscurities ; and Mr. Hyde will not be so 'cock-sure' another time."*

Further on the same writer adds, "It is in this way that Oliver Protector coerces the unruly elements of England ; says to them, 'Peace, ye !' With the aid of parliament and venerable parchment, if so may be ; without it, if so may not be, I, called hither by very good authority, will hold you down. Quiet shall you, for your part, keep yourselves ; or be 'barbadosed,' and worse. Mark it ; not while I live shall you have dominion, you nor the master of you !"

CHAPTER XLIV.

Another Parliament — A long Address — Enemies of the State specified — Religious Toleration.

WE thus reach the autumn of 1656 ; and in September, 17th day, another parliament assembles. The usual preliminaries are observed. The protector and the members assemble to hear the sermon ; after which all adjourn to the

* Letters, ii, pp. 164, 165.

“Painted Chamber,” where he delivers to them a long address. In this address he descants largely upon the enemies of the state, among which he reckons Spain especially; and specifies Papists, Cavaliers, Levelers, Commonwealth-men, Fifth Monarchy-men, etc., as among the dangerous enemies of the nation. He then proceeds to recommend certain remedies, and especially advises a vigorous prosecution of the war with Spain. He also takes occasion to present in this address his views of religious toleration. So interesting are his remarks here that we cannot refrain from quoting a specimen or two.

“Our practice since the last parliament hath been, to let all this nation see that, whatever pretensions to religion would continue quiet and peaceable, they should enjoy conscience and liberty to themselves, and *not* to make religion a pretense for arms and blood. Truly we have suffered them, and that cheerfully, so to enjoy their own liberties. Whatsoever is contrary, and not peaceable, let the pretense be never so specious, if it tend to combination, to interests and factions, we shall not care, by the grace of God, *whom* we meet withal, though

never so specious, if they be not quiet! And truly I am against all liberty of conscience repugnant to *this*. If men will profess—be they those under baptism, be they those of the Independent judgment simply, or of the Presbyterian judgment, in the name of God encourage them, countenance them, so long as they do plainly continue to be thankful to God, and to make use of the liberty given them to enjoy their own consciences! . . . Men who believe in Jesus Christ; that is the form that gives being to true religion, namely, to faith in Christ, and walking in a profession answerable to that faith: men who believe the remission of sins through the blood of Christ, and free justification by the blood of Christ; who live upon the grace of God; those men who are certain they are so, are members of Jesus Christ, and are to him the apple of his eye. Whoever hath this faith, let his form be what it will—he walking peaceably without prejudice to others under other forms—it is a debt due to God and Christ, and he will require it, if that Christian may not enjoy his liberty. . . . If a man of one form will be trampling upon the heels of another form; if an Independent, for

example, will despise him who is under Baptism, and will revile him, and reproach and provoke him, I will not suffer it in him. If, on the other side, those of the Anabaptist judgment shall be censuring the godly ministers of the nation who profess under that of Independency; or if those that profess under Presbytery shall be reproaching or speaking evil of them, traducing and censuring of them—as I would not be willing to see the day when England shall be in the power of the Presbytery, to impose upon the consciences of others that profess faith in Christ—so I will not endure any reproach to them. But God give us hearts and spirits to keep things *equal*. Which, truly, I must profess to you, hath been my temper. I have had some boxes on the ear and rebukes—on the one hand and on the other—some censuring me for Presbytery; others as an inletter to all the sects and heresies of the nation. I have borne my reproach; but I have, through God's mercy, not been unhappy in permitting any one religion to impose upon another.” *

Such words were uttered more than two hundred years ago, when the true principles of

* Letters, ii, pp. 237, 238.

religious toleration were understood but by few. Such a government and such a magistrate would never have compelled the pilgrim fathers to emigrate to America in order to obtain "freedom to worship God."

Carlyle, commenting on this speech, remarks that "no royal speech like this was ever delivered elsewhere in the world! It is, with all its prudence—and it is very prudent, sagacious, courteous, right royal in spirit—perhaps the most artless, transparent piece of public speaking this editor has ever studied. Rude, massive, genuine; like a rock of unbeaten gold. A speech not so fit for Drury Lane as for Valhalla and the sanhedrim of the gods. The man himself, and the England he presided over there and then, are, to a singular degree, visible in it; open to our eyes, to our sympathies. He who would see Oliver will find more of him here than in most of the history-books yet written about him." *

* Letters, ii, p. 250.

CHAPTER XLV.

Condition of Admission to Parliament — One Hundred excluded — Apology for this Movement — Remarks of D'Aubigné — An Order of the Parliament.

THE protector's address was finished, and the members passed to the Parliament House ; when, lo ! no one was allowed to enter except such as received at the door a certificate that they were approved by "his highness's council." Thus, about one hundred out of four hundred members were excluded from the House.

Here was another high-handed measure of the protector, and one which all must acknowledge to be difficult to justify. Yet even in this strange transaction Cromwell should not be judged too hastily. We should throw ourselves as fully as possible into the circumstances that encompassed him. It was a dark and extremely critical time for the country. There were many enemies of the protector and his government. There were divers plottings to overturn this whole government fabric, involve the land in confusion and bloodshed ; and, by enthroning

Charles Stuart, to re-enact tyranny, persecution, and war. The protector was thoroughly familiar with all these designs and movements. He also knew men. His penetration was unequalled, and his knowledge of mankind unsurpassed. He discerned clearly who were his enemies, and the enemies of the public good; and he deeply felt that the national welfare hung upon the success of his government. Moreover, he had had much experience of parliaments, and the evil which designing men were capable of accomplishing there; and he knew the character of the men who were excluded from this parliament, and that everything was at stake, and he determined not to hesitate. He must again rise above all constitutions, precedents, or law, and save his country at all events and at every hazard.

Such was the state of the case; and, being such, who is ready to strike down this great and sublime man as he stands in the breach, and decides and determines to save his country, and scatter and prostrate its enemies?

D'Aubigné, commenting upon this extraordinary act of Cromwell, judiciously remarks as follows: "If we allow, as we are bound to do,

that the measure employed by Cromwell was inconsistent with the freedom of parliament and with the principles of constitutional government, we must also acknowledge that these stretches of power were at that time necessary to the stability of his authority, and that without these somewhat despotic acts the nation would inevitably have been again involved in war and confusion. Above all, we should remember that the necessary check upon representative governments—an Upper House—no longer existed in England. The right, therefore, which he claimed, of rejecting a portion of the representatives, must, in his mind, have been intended to supply the want of a House of Lords. There was, therefore, a constitutional element in this measure of exclusion.” *

We merely add that one of the acts of this parliament was that, for the future, no member should be excluded from parliament except by vote of the House; in which order the protector acquiesced.

* Vindication, p. 236.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Character of the Parliament — Supplies voted — Major-Generals suppressed — James Naylor — Carlyle's Sarcasm.

As the autumn and winter advanced, but few noticeable things seemed to have been accomplished by this second protectorate parliament. It was an utterly different body of men from the preceding parliament. There was a general acquiescence in the existing government, and in the administration of Cromwell. Carlyle, in his own style, thus descants upon the state of affairs.

“Since the first constitutioning parliament went its ways, here is a great change among us. Three years of successful experiment have thrown some light on Oliver and his mode of ruling to all Englishmen. What can a wise Puritan Englishman do but decide on complying with Oliver; on strengthening the hands of Oliver? Is he not verily doing the thing we all wanted to see done? The old parchments of the case may have been a little hustled, as indeed in a ten years' civil war, ending in the

execution of a king, they could hardly fail to be ; but the divine fact of the case, meseems, is well cared for ! Here is a governing man, undeniably the most English of Englishmen, the most Puritan of Puritans—the pattern man, I must say, according to the model of that seventeenth century in England ; and a great man, denizen of all the centuries, or he could never have been the pattern one in that. Truly, my friends, I think you may go further and fare worse ! To the darkest head in England, even to the assassinate, truculent, flunky-head in steeple hat, worn brown, some light has shone out of these three years of government by Oliver. An uncommon Oliver, even to the truculent flukey. If not the noblest and worshipfulest of all Englishmen, at least the strongest and terriblest, with whom, really, it might be as well to comply ; with whom, in fact, there is small hope in not complying ! ” *

The parliament cheerfully voted the necessary supplies ; suppressed, on hint of the protector himself, the government of the major-generals ; and, among other matters, seems to have wasted considerable time in trying and

* Letters ii, 267.

condemning a certain *James Naylor*, a poor fanatic who had succeeded in bringing himself into notice. By way of episode, we will listen as Carlyle here launches upon the parliament a little characteristic sarcasm.

“Its (the parliament’s) next grand feat was that of James Naylor and his procession, which we saw at Bristol lately. Interminable debates about James Naylor; excelling in stupor all the human speeches, even in English parliaments, this editor has ever been exposed to. Naylor, in fact, is almost all that survives with one, from *Burton*, as the sum of what this parliament did. If they did aught else, the human mind, eager enough to carry off news of them, has mostly dropped it on the way hither. To posterity they sit there as the James Naylor parliament. Four hundred gentlemen of England, and, I think, a sprinkling of lords among them, assembled from all counties and boroughs of the three nations, to sit in solemn debate on this terrific phenomenon—a mad Quaker fancying, or seeming to fancy, himself, what is not uncommon since, a new incarnation of Christ. Shall we hang him, shall we whip him, bore the tongue of him with hot iron; shall we imprison

him, set him to oakum; shall we roast, or boil, or stew him; shall we put the question whether this question shall be put; debate whether this shall be debated; in Heaven's name what shall we do with him, the terrific phenomenon of Naylor? This is the history of Oliver's second parliament for three long months and odd. Nowhere does the unfathomable deep of dullness which our English character has in it, more stupendously disclose itself. Something almost grand in it, nay, something really grand; though, in our impatience, we call it dull." . . . Not insignificant this English character, which can placidly debate such matters, and even feel a certain smack of delight in them! A massiveness of eupeptic vigor speaks itself there, which perhaps the liveliest wit might envy. Who is there that has the strength of ten oxen, that is able to support these things? Couldst thou debate on Naylor day after day, for a whole winter? Thou, if the sky were threatening to fall on account of it, would sink under such labor, appointed only for the oxen of the gods! The honorable gentlemen set Naylor to ride with his face to the tail, through various streets and cities; to be whipped, (poor Naylor,) to be

branded, to be bored through the tongue, and then to do oakum *ad libitum* upon bread and water; after which he repented, confessed himself mad, and this world-great phenomenon, visible to posterity and the west of England, was got winded up.”*

This parliament, however, did something more, connected with which occurs an important era in the history of Cromwell, and out of which have come some of the most prominent misrepresentations of the aims and character of the man.

CHAPTER XLVII.

The Kingship — Proposed to Cromwell — Agitation of the Matter in Parliament — Disturbance — “Petition and Advice” — Protracted Debate — Army Officers opposed to the Kingship — Cromwell’s response to them — The new Instrument matured in Parliament.

THE matter alluded to at the close of the preceding chapter is that of the effort of this parliament for inducing Cromwell to accept the title of king.

* Letters, ii, pp. 269, 270.

On the 23d of February Sir Christopher Pack, a member from London, introduces a document entitled "A Humble Address and Remonstrance of the Knights, Burgesses, and Citizens assembled in Parliament." This paper set forth that, as the best way of settling the nation, the lord protector should be desired to assume the title of king. He had scarcely said the words when the republican and military members forced him from his seat near the speaker down to the bar of the House. But Pack's friends sprang to his assistance, and, in spite of much tumult and violence, his paper was read to the House. It proposed, in addition to the kingship, that the parliament should consist of two houses instead of one, as at present constituted. A long debate ensued, extending from February 23 to March 26, when the paper was in substance adopted, under the altered title of "The Humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament of England and Ireland." At the close of the debate, the blank left for the title to be borne by Cromwell was filled up with the word "king" by a majority of 123 against 62.

As this long debate proceeded, there waited

upon the protector a hundred army officers and persons of note, with a view of dissuading him from accepting the kingship, signifying to him that they contemplated the project under debate with dismay; that it was a "scandal to the people of God," hazardous to his own person, and would be otherwise disastrous.

The protector responded with dignity, and some severity, that he now specifically heard of this project for the first time; that he had not been caballing about it, either for or against it; that the matter need not startle *them* so much, inasmuch as some of them well knew that the kingship had been already offered to him and pressed upon him *by themselves*, when he had undertaken the government in its then present form. He further told them that the title king was of as little value to him as to them; that as to parliaments, at least, some reform was certainly needed; that the little parliament, the first protectorate parliament, and the major-generalcies, had all proved failures, and that the present parliament was nearly a failure; that the House of Lords, as a check upon a single house of parliament, might be of real use; that, in short, "the Deputation of a

Hundred Officers had better go its ways and consider itself again."

Meantime, the parliament is proceeding with great diligence in modeling and maturing the instrument of "Petition and Advice;" and, by the end of March, it is in a state of readiness, comprising eighteen carefully-constructed articles engraved on vellum, and ready to be presented to the protector, with the understanding that he is to adopt the whole document, or no part of it is to be binding.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

"Petition and Advice" presented to the Protector — He is invited to the Kingship by the Parliament — Responds briefly — Asks for Time — Gives a further Answer — Not Decisive — Parliament Visits the Protector in a Body — Doubts and Scruples — Committee of Ninety-Nine — A long Conversation.

ON the 31st of March the speaker of the House and all the members went in a body to Whitehall to present the "Petition and Advice" to the protector. After a speech by the speaker, setting forth the object of their visit, and inviting him to take upon himself the title and

office of king, and presenting several reasons for such a step, the protector responded, somewhat briefly, that the proposal, including the frame of government offered to him, ought to beget in himself the greatest reverence and fear of God that ever possessed a man in the world, and that the matter was of the greatest possible weight. "I have lived the latter part of my age in—if I may say so—the fire; in the midst of troubles. But all the things that have befallen me since I was first engaged in the affairs of this Commonwealth, if they could be supposed to be all brought into such a compass that I could take a view of them at once, truly I do not think they would so move, nor do I think ought so to move, my heart and spirit with that fear and reverence of God that becomes a Christian, as this thing that hath now been offered by you to me! And truly my comfort in all my life hath been that the burdens which have lain heavy on me, they were laid upon me by the hand of God. . . . And should I give any resolution in this matter suddenly, without seeking to have an answer put into my heart, and so into my mouth, by Him that hath been my God and my guide

hitherto, it would give you very little cause of comfort in such a choice as you have made in such a business as this. . . . I have, therefore, but this one word to say to you: that seeing you have made progress in this business, and completed the work on your part, I, on my side, may have some short time to ask counsel of God and of my own heart. . . . And truly I may say this also; that as the thing will deserve deliberation, the utmost deliberation and consideration on my part, so I shall think myself bound to give as speedy an answer to these things as I can."

Having deliberated upon so great a matter for three days, at the end of that time he notified the parliament that if a committee from that body would wait upon him they should receive his answer to the "Petition and Advice." A large committee accordingly attends upon his highness on that afternoon at three o'clock.

In his address to this committee, the protector submitted to them that he had, as well as he could, taken into consideration their important proposal presented to him a few days before, and had sought of God that he might

return such an answer as might become himself and be worthy of the parliament. He commended the parliament for their interest in securing to the people religious and civil liberty ; two great interests which he declared were ever prominent in all his fightings and sufferings. In respect to the kingship, he fully acknowledged the exceedingly high honor and respect had for him in connection with this matter, for which honor and respect he should always keep a grateful memory in his heart, and for which, also, he, by the committee, returned to the parliament his grateful acknowledgments. " But I must needs say," he adds, " that that may be fit for you to offer which may not be fit for me to undertake ; and as I should reckon it a very great presumption were I to ask the reason of your doing any one thing in this paper, so you will not take it unkindly if I beg of you this addition to the parliament's favor, love, and indulgence to me, that it be taken in tender part if I give such an answer as I find in my heart to give in this business, *without* urging many reasons for it, save such as are most obvious and most to my advantage in answering ; namely, that I am not able for such a trust and charge.

. . . I must say I have been able to attain no further than this, that, seeing the way is hedged up so as it is to me, and I cannot accept the things offered unless I accept all, I have not been able to find it my duty to God and you to undertake this charge under that title. . . . This is all I have to say. I desire it may, and do not doubt but it will, be with candor and ingenuity * represented unto them by you." †

The answer of the protector did not impress the minds of the committee and the parliament as entirely decisive; and, accordingly, a few days after the above named interview of the committee with the protector, the parliament, having decided to adhere to the "Petition and Advice," went again in a body to confer with his highness. Concerning this conference there seems to be no reports except that it was not successful. The protector seems to have doubts and scruples, "on which, however, he is willing to be dealt with."

With a view, therefore, of satisfying the scruples of Cromwell, a committee is immediately appointed to lay before him the entire argument for the great measure proposed.

* Ingenuousness.

† Letters, ii, pp. 279, 280.

This committee comprised ninety-nine persons, including, of course, a large number of the ablest and most distinguished members of the parliamentary body.

The first meeting of this committee with the protector was April 11, when a long conversation ensued between himself and several members of the committee, winding up with no special result; and another meeting was appointed for the 13th.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Another Conversation touching the Kingship — Reasoning of the Committee — The Protector's Answer — Adjournment.

AT the second visit of the Committee of Ninety-Nine to the protector, he, in a somewhat protracted speech, reviewed the controversy between the committee and himself on the subject of the kingship. The gist of the argument which had been urged upon Cromwell for assuming the title of king was, that this title appeared to be a necessity; that the kingship was not merely a title but an office, and thus was so interwoven with the fundamental laws

of the nation that these laws could not well be executed without it; that the laws knew no other title than that of king, and the people knew no other; but that this title, name, or office of king is understood by the people in its dimensions, and in its power and prerogatives, all of which are made certain by law, together with the checks and limitations thereof; and it was urged that the laws defining all these, the people are familiar with them; and the people knowing them love them, and it would not be for the safety of the people nor of the parliament to obtrude upon them what they do not nor cannot understand.* It was further urged by the committee that the people had always been unwilling to vary names; that when King James wished to change his title from that of *King of England* to *King of Great Britain*, it was refused; as, also, when, in the Long Parliament, it was proposed to substitute the name of "representatives" for that of "parliament." The committee yet further argued that holding to the word *king* would strengthen the new settlement that was now pending in the parliament, for thus there would be nothing done *de*

* As, for example, the name *protector*, instead of *king*.

novo, but things would merely revolve in their old current. And, finally, it was alleged that the change of title from *protector* to *king* would tend to the security of the chief magistrate himself, and of all who act under him, as well as of the whole people.

To these considerations, urged by the committee upon the mind of the protector, he calmly responded, that though the kingship was not a mere title, but the name of an office which runs through the whole of the law, yet it is not so by reason of the name, but by reason of what the name signifies; and he hence inferred that the supreme authority acting under any other name, as *protector*, for example, would be equally effectual; and he asserted that, for himself, he would rather have any name for that parliament than any other name without it. He was confident that what the parliament should settle in respect to the name of the chief magistrate will run and have currency through the law, and will lead "the thread of government" equally well as what had been in the past. He submitted that, save that there had been a long continuance of the kingship, its authority was from the same source. It had its

origin somewhere, and that somewhere was the consent of the whole people; and the consent of the whole, he said, will still be the needle that will lead the thread, and no man would pretend right against it or wrong.

He hence modestly inferred that the arguments drawn from the laws of the land proved not the *necessity* of the title king, but merely its *convenience*; and that what the present parliament should enact and settle would be just as authoritative as matters that were enacted in the olden times.

He then passes from the ground of *expediency* to that of *experience*; and reminds the committee that the supreme authority had, in recent years, been maintained under two other names than that of king: by the Long Parliament under the title of *keepers of the liberties of England*, and by himself under the title of protector; and he could truly assert that under both of these administrations, without the title of king, almost universal obedience had been yielded by all ranks and sorts of men. The new name or title was obeyed, did pass current, was received, and did carry on the public justice of the nation. This was true

under the Long Parliament; and then, as to his own administration, under the name of *protectorate*, he gave it as his sober judgment, though he would not speak it vainly, that, since the beginning of that change in government, there had been as free a procedure of the laws as in those years called the "halcyon days of peace," under the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.

He concluded, therefore, that these two experiences of another name than king for the chief magistracy manifestly showed that it was not a *title*, though ever so intimately interwoven with the laws, that gives the law its free passage, and enables it to do its office without interruption; and he doubted not that if a parliament should determine that another name should run through the laws, it would run with as free a passage as that of king.

In further arguing with the committee, the protector urged his fears that if the title of king should be resumed by the chief magistrate, it would be a grief to multitudes of the best people of the land. He was certain that, very generally, good men did not swallow the title of king; and though it was no part of their

goodness to be unwilling to submit to the judgment of the parliament, yet he begged that he might not be obliged to take any step, or assume any title that would be afflictive to them. Such dislike of a name might be a weakness and infirmity ; but he thought that by being patient and indulgent toward it they would be better able to eradicate the spirit and principle of disobedience from the nation.

Cromwell's experience as a soldier had taught him the value of God-fearing people, and he was extremely reluctant to adopt any measures that would tend to disaffect them. It pained him to think of the nation's sacrificing a single friend of the country.

The protector having finished his speech, the interview was adjourned to the next day at three o'clock.

CHAPTER L.

A further Interview between the Committee and the Protector — Still another Interview on the next Day — Another Meeting ten Days afterward.

THE protector being indisposed, the adjourned interview with the Committee of Ninety-Nine did not occur till the 16th, when several members proceeded to answer the arguments which had been presented at the last interview.

Another meeting took place on the 20th; and another speech of the protector to the committee, partially responding to their arguments at the preceding meeting. We pass this speech by, except to quote from it these few words of his highness:

“And now when I say (I speak in the plainness and simplicity of my heart, as before Almighty God) I did, out of necessity, undertake that business, which I think no man but myself would have undertaken, it hath pleased God that I have been instrumental in keeping the peace of the nation to this day; and have kept it under a title (*protector*) which, some say, signifies but a keeping of it to another’s use, to a

better use; a title which may improve it to a better use! And this I may say: I have not desired the continuance of my power or place either under one title or another; that have I not! . . . and, therefore, I say, if the wisdom of this parliament—I speak not this vainly, or as a fool, but as to God—if the wisdom of this parliament should have found a way to settle the interests of this nation upon the foundations of justice and truth and liberty to the people of God, and concernments of men as Englishmen, I would have lain at their feet, or at anybody else's feet, that things might have run in such a current! I say I have no pretensions to things for myself; to ask this or that, or to avoid this or that. I know the censures of the world may quickly pass upon me, and are already passing; but, I thank God, I know where to lay the weight that is laid upon me—I mean the weight of reproach and contempt and scorn that hath been cast upon me.”*

Alluding to these sentiments, dropping from the lips of this great man, a judicious writer remarks: “Who has any right to accuse Cromwell of dissimulation when he made these

* Letters, ii, pp. 309, 310.

solemn declarations? If he was calumniated in his day of power, it is still more easy to calumniate him now that he is dead; and in this, many individuals have shown no lack of zeal. We feel no inclination for so dishonorable a task. In studying the protector's character, let them only exercise a little of that impartiality which is due to every man, even to the most useless and obscure, and I entertain no doubt they will shake off the prejudices which darken his memory." *

Another meeting of the protector and committee was held on the following day, when he descanted at large on the several provisions of the new instrument, suggesting certain alterations and amendments; but, to the disappointment of the committee, making little or no allusion to the grand object of the committee—the acceptance of the kingship.

This great matter hangs yet in suspense, some imagining that the protector will accept the title, others doubting it; while, as to what was passing, in these days, in the mind of his highness, there is no witness and no report.

At the end of ten days from the last meeting,

* D'Aubigné, pp. 242, 243.

the Committee of Ninety-Nine wait again upon the protector with the "Petition and Advice" revised, so far as the parliament judged fit to accord with the suggestions of his highness in his last address to the committee. He answers briefly, and promises to appoint a day when he will give his final answer.

CHAPTER LI.

May 8, 1657, the whole Parliament meet the Protector — He addresses them in a brief Speech — Decides the great Question, declining the Kingship.

MAY 8th, 1657, was the important day. On that day, not the Committee of Ninety-Nine merely, but the whole parliament in a body, by special invitation, attends his highness. He addresses them in a brief speech, from which we give one or two extracts. After commending the act of government for the settlement of the national affairs, affirming that "the intentions and things (embraced by the said act) are very honorable and honest, and the product worthy of a parliament," he adds:

“I have only had the unhappiness, both in my conferences with your committees and in the best thoughts I could take to myself, not to be convinced of the necessity of that thing which hath been so often insisted on by you ; to wit, the title of king, as in itself so necessary as it seems to be apprehended by you. And yet I do, with all honor and respect, testify that, *cæteris paribus*, no private judgment is to be in the balance with the judgment of parliament. But in things that respect particular persons, every man who is to give an account to God of his actions must, in some measure, be able to prove his own work, and to have an approbation in his own conscience of that which he is to do or to forbear. And while you are granting others liberties, surely you will not deny *me* this ; it being not only a liberty but a duty, and such a duty as I cannot, without sinning, forbear, to examine my own heart, and thoughts, and judgment, in every work which I am to set my hand to, or to appear in or for.

“I must confess, therefore, though I do acknowledge all the other points, I must be a little confident in this, that what, with the circumstances which accompany human actions—

whether they be circumstances of time or persons—whether circumstances that relate to the whole, or private and particular circumstances, such as compass any person who is to render an account of his own actions, I have truly thought, and I do still think, that, at the best, if I should do anything on this account to answer your expectation, at the best I should do it doubtingly. And certainly whatsoever is so is not of faith; and whatsoever is not so, whatsoever is not of faith, is sin to him that doth it. . . . I, lying under this consideration, think it my duty—only I could have wished I had done it sooner, for the sake of the House, who have laid such infinite obligations on me. I wish I had done it sooner for your sake, and for saving time and trouble, and for the committee's sake, to whom I must acknowledge I have been unreasonably troublesome! But truly this is my answer, that (although I think the act of government doth consist of very excellent parts, in all but that one thing of the title as to me) I should not be an honest man if I did not tell you that I cannot accept of the government, nor undertake the trouble and charge of it—as to which I have a little more experimented than everybody what

troubles and difficulties do befall men under such trusts and in such undertakings. I say I am persuaded to return this answer to you; that I cannot undertake this government with the title of king. And that is my answer to this great and weighty business.”*

Such was the finale of this great question of Cromwell and the kingship.

“The rest of the Petition and Advice, so long discussed and conferenced upon, is of course accepted; a much improved frame of government with a second house of parliament, with a chief magistrate who is to nominate his successor, and be king in all points except the name.”

CHAPTER LII.

Reflections upon Cromwell and his Decision — Extract.

THUS did Cromwell decline the crown of England; and it has been well remarked by another that “there are few men recorded in ancient and modern history who have been able, like him, to resist a similar temptation.”

* Letters, ii, pp. 344-346.

If it be thought that, in this matter of the kingship, we have been too minute, our apology is that directly here it is that the enemies of Oliver Cromwell seem to have been the most eager to fix upon him the charge of hypocrisy and unholy ambition. But facts, as we have presented them, seem to us to prove all such attempts to be utter failures. It is not necessary to assert that the crown of England possessed no attractions for Cromwell. We may concede that it did present to his mind a very strong attraction. Nor are we convinced that such a fact, if fact it were, was any proof of wrong or guilt on his part. Desire for place or office—even the highest office—is not, in itself, a sin; it may be a positive virtue rather, as being coveted with a simple view of a stronger and wider influence for good.

Or suppose the kingship, as millions have supposed, to have been a temptation to the mind of Cromwell—a temptation which he very reluctantly resisted; yet is it nothing that he actually did resist it? resist it, when to accept the crown was for successive weeks pressed upon him by the parliament of England, and with a voice that seemed to the protector little

less than law? with a pressure that was overshadowing, with arguments that were next to overwhelming, and with an earnestness and a plausibility which would have vanquished almost every other man, and which it required the firmness and the conscientiousness of a Cromwell to resist? You are pleased to assert that this man was ambitious, and was eager for the meed of royalty. But facts are against you. Almost his entire history is against you. His genius, manner of spirit, conversations, letters, speeches, all are against you; and the crowning fact of his cautious, deliberate rejection of the kingship is decisive, and should ever have been recognized as the end of all controversy touching this grave matter. Never, we think, might a man more sincerely and fully than Oliver Cromwell adopt the great words of the apostle, as he affirmed that "Our rejoicing is this: the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world."

Harmonious, in the main, with these views is the following extract:

Was there no ambitious sentiment in the

protector, especially in this affair of the kingship? To deny this absolutely would be making him superior to the conditions of mortal existence. 'There is no man that sinneth not,' says the Scripture. Oliver was not exempt from this general rule. All that we would say is, that he was conscientious in this struggle, and that if the flesh lusted against the spirit, the spirit fought against the flesh. Cromwell possessed a living faith; and that faith is a power which every day grows stronger in the heart. The object for which God places this heavenly and divine power in man is to overcome the evil, the earthly, and the sensual powers that have taken up their abode in his bosom. The question, therefore, is not whether these two contrary elements—*the new man and the old man*—do not exist together in the same individual; but whether the struggle between them is sincere and loyal. In Oliver the struggle was indeed sincere." *

* D'Aubigné, p. 246.

CHAPTER LIII.

A new Inauguration—Brilliant Picture of the Scene — Parliament prorogued to January 20.

THE new inauguration ensues. The full recognition of the protectorship by the parliament itself calls for a second and more imposing installation. "He cannot yet, as it proves, be crowned king," says Carlyle; "but he shall be installed in his protectorship with all solemnity befitting such an occasion."

As we have thus invited Mr. Carlyle to introduce this scene of the new inauguration, we will permit him, with his own sprightly pencil, to complete for us the picture.

"Friday, 26th June, 1657, the parliament and all the world are busy with this grand affair; the labors of the season being now complete, the last finish being now given to our new instrument of government, to our elaborate 'Petition and Advice,' we will add this topstone to the work, and so, amid the shoutings of mankind, disperse for the recess. Friday at two o'clock, 'in a place prepared,' duly pre-

pared with all manner of 'platform,' 'cloths of state,' and 'seats raised one above the other,' 'at the upper end of Westminster Hall.' Palace-yard and London generally is all a tip-toe out of doors. Within doors Speaker Widdrington and the master of the ceremonies have done their best; the judges, the aldermen, the parliament, the council, the foreign ambassadors and domestic dignitaries without end; chairs of state, cloths of state, trumpet-peals and acclamations of the people. Let the reader conceive it; or read in old pamphlets the 'exact relation' of it, with all the speeches and phenomena, worthier than such things usually are of being read.

"His highness standing under the cloth of state,' says Bulstrode, whose fine feelings are evidently touched by it, 'the speaker, in the name of the parliament, presented to him, first, a *robe* of purple velvet; which the speaker, assisted by Whitlocke and others, put upon his highness.' Then he, the speaker, delivered to him the *Bible* richly gilt and bossed, an affecting symbolic gift. After that the speaker girt the *sword* about his highness, and delivered into his hand the *scepter* of massive gold. And

then, this done, he made a speech to him on the several things presented; eloquent, mellifluous speech, setting forth the high and true significance of the several symbols; speech still worth reading, to which his highness answered in silence by dignified gesture only. Then Mr. Speaker gave him the oath; and so ended really in a solemn manner. And Mr. Manton, by prayer, recommended his highness, the parliament, the council, the forces by land and sea, and the whole government and people of the three nations, to the blessing and protection of God. And then the people gave several great shouts, and the trumpets sounded; and the protector sat in his chair of state, holding the scepter in his hand; a remarkable sight to see. On his right sat the ambassador of France, on his left some other ambassador; and all around, standing or sitting, were dignitaries of the highest quality; and near the earl of Warwick stood the Lord Viscount Lisle, stood General Montague and Whitlocke, each of them having a drawn sword in his hand, a sublime sight to some of us! And so this solemnity transacts itself, which at the moment was solemn enough; and is not yet, at this or any hollowest moment

of human history, intrinsically altogether other. A really dignified and veritable piece of symbolism, perhaps the last we hitherto, in these quack-ridden, historic ages, have been privileged to see on such an occasion." *

Such was the final and crowning act of this session of the parliament, which was immediately prorogued to the 20th of January following.

CHAPTER LIV.

Administration prospers in the Interim — England's Proud Position — Marriages of Lady Frances Cromwell and Lady Mary Cromwell — Protector's Manner of Life.

THUS the interim between the first and second sessions of this parliament was from June 26, 1657, to January 20, 1658, about seven months.

In this brief interval the administration seems to have been prosperous; public affairs had reached a settlement. The allied English and French armies against Spain were successful, attempted insurrections were suppressed, and England was holding a proud position among the nations of Europe.

* Letters. i, pp. 350, 351.

Meantime, in November, was married Lady Frances Cromwell, youngest daughter of the protector, to Robert Rich, son of Lord Rich, grandson of the earl of Warwick and of the countess dowager of Devonshire. Also, on Thursday of the following week, Lady Mary Cromwell, an older sister, was wedded to Lord Franconburg, a young man of extraordinary parts.

Thus was it with Cromwell's public and domestic affairs as the new parliamentary session approaches.

Extracts from several sources present us with the following picture of the protector's manner of life and administration at this period: "The court and the manner of life of Cromwell continued quiet and modest as they ever had been; not wanting, however, a certain sober dignity, which was more imposing than the tinsel and parade of most royalties. Everything at Hampton Court, his favorite residence, had an air of sobriety and decency; there was no riot, no debauchery seen or heard of; yet it was not a dull place, the protector's humor being naturally of a cheerful turn. "He now provided him a guard of halberdiers in gray coats, welted with a black velvet, over whom Walter Strick-

land was captain. He frequently diverted himself at Hampton Court, whither he went and returned, commonly in post, with his guards behind and before. His own diet was spare and not curious, except in public treatments, which were constantly given the Monday in every week to all the officers in the army not below a captain, when he used to dine with them. A table was likewise spread every day of the week for such officers as should casually come to court. He was a great lover of music, and entertained the most skillful in that science in his pay and family. He respected all persons that excelled in any art, and would procure them to be sent or brought to him. Sometimes he would, for a frolic, before he had half dined, give order for the drum to beat and call in his foot-guards, who were permitted to make booty of all they found on the table. Sometimes he would be jocund with some of the nobility, and would tell them what company they had lately kept; when and where they had drank the king's health and the royal family's; bidding them, when they did it again, to do it more privately; and this without any passion, and as 'festivous, droll discourse.' He delighted especially to sur-

round himself with the master minds of his age and country, with men who had left immortal names behind them. Milton, the Latin secretary, was his familiar; honest Andrew Marvel was his frequent guest; Waller was his friend and kinsman; nor was the more youthful genius of Dryden excluded. Hartlib, a native of Poland, the bosom-friend of Milton, and the advocate of education, was honored and pensioned; and so was Usher, the learned and amiable archbishop, notwithstanding his prelacy; and John Biddle, called the father of English Unitarians, received an allowance of a hundred crowns a year. Even the fantastic, plotting Catholic, Sir Kenelm Digby, was among the protector's guests, and received support or assistance on account, chiefly, of his literary merits. The general course of the protector's government was mild and just. One who was his physician, but not his panegyrist, says: 'Justice (that we may not scourge him beyond his desert) was renewed almost to her former grace and splendor, as well distributive as commutative; the judges executing their office with equity and justice, far from covetousness; and the laws suffered, without delay or let, to have

their full force upon all, (a few days excepted, where he himself was immediately concerned.) The lives of men, outwardly at least, became reformed either by withdrawing the incentives to luxury, or by means of the ancient laws now newly put into execution. There was also a strict discipline kept in his court; one could find none here that was either drunkard or whoremaster, none that was guilty of extortion or oppression, but he was severely rebuked. Now trade began to flourish; and (to say all in a word) all England over, these were halcyon days."

CHAPTER LV.

Shadows approaching — The reorganized Parliament — The new House of Peers — Bearing of the Commons toward the Peers — Wrangling touching the Title to be given to the House of Peers — Both Houses summoned to Whitehall — Addressed by the Protector.

BUT the "halcyon days" were soon to be numbered, and all this bright sunshine was presently to be quenched in quick and cold eclipse.

The new parliamentary session approached,

and there were strong probabilities that it would be different from the former session.

Two grand points of difference will at once occur to the reader: first, the addition of a House of Lords; and, second, the admission to the House of Commons of the hundred or more members who, for want of certificates, were excluded at the first session. These are new elements, and such as would probably occasion disturbance.

The creation of the new peerage must have been a matter of much delicacy, and the more so as multitudes, and no small proportion of the Commons, were disaffected to the whole measure. It was provided in the new instrument of government that the peers should be nominated by the protector and confirmed by the Commons. Sixty-three in all were summoned, of whom about forty took their seats, mostly selected from the House of Commons, "the worst effect of which was that his highness thereby lost some forty favorable votes in that other House, which, as matters went, proved highly detrimental there."

The Commons were determined that the House of Lords should be second and inferior

to the House of Commons in all respects. The latter would not recognize them as "Lords," or as the "Upper House," but simply as the "Other House," and protested against their assuming any other title.

The parliament, comprising both houses, assembled at the day appointed, January 20, 1658. All are summoned to the House of Lords, and the protector addresses them briefly.

Shadows are thickening now both abroad and at home. The two Houses had scarcely separated after the address before the Commons commenced wrangling about the title to be given to the House of Lords. This weak controversy continued day after day, to the neglect of affairs of great importance that were pressing, and demanded immediate attention.

Accordingly, on the fifth day after the assembly of parliament, a message from the protector summoned both Houses to Whitehall to listen to another address from his highness.

He gave it to them as his opinion that not merely the wellbeing but the being itself of the nation was at stake; that it was a time when the most serious and wise counsels were needed; that the grand design now on foot, in

comparison with which all other designs are but low things, is, whether the Christian world shall be all Popery; that the great Protestant cause was struck at; that if all the Protestants in Europe had but one head, that head had in the late persecution of the Waldenses been cut off; that the pope was influencing all the potentates of Europe to the ruin of Protestantism.

In speaking of home affairs he adds: "We have two blessings, peace and the Gospel. Let us have one heart and soul; one mind to maintain the honest and just rights of this nation. If you run into *another* flood of blood and war, this nation must sink and perish utterly. I beseech you, and charge you in the name and presence of God, and as before him, be sensible of these things, and lay them to heart. If you prefer not the keeping of peace, that we may see the fruit of righteousness in them that love peace and embrace peace, it will be said of this poor nation, *Actum est de Anglia*, It is all over with England.

"While I live and am able, I shall be ready to stand and fall with you. I have taken my oath to govern according to the laws, and I trust I shall fully answer it. And know, I

sought not this place ; I speak it before God, angels, and men ; I *did not*. You sought me for it, you brought me to it. And I took my oath to be faithful to the interests of these nations ; to be faithful to the government. All those things were implied, in my eye, in the oath to be faithful to the government upon which we have now met. And I trust, by the grace of God, as I have taken my oath to serve this Commonwealth on such an account, I shall, I must see it done according to the articles of government. That every just interest may be preserved ; that a godly ministry may be upheld, and not affronted by seducing and seduced spirits ; that all men may be preserved in their just rights, whether civil or spiritual. Upon this account did I take oath, and swear to this government ! And so, having declared my heart and mind to you in this, I have nothing more to say, but to pray God Almighty bless you.” *

* Letters, ii, 388.

CHAPTER LVI.

Protector's Appeal of no avail — Mischievous Debatings — Infatuation — Cromwell indignant — Prorogues the Parliament — Last Public Words.

STRANGE to say, the noble appeal of the protector, glanced at in the last chapter, was of little or no avail. Miserable and mischievous debates continued—debates about the Other House, and even about the protectorate itself. It would seem that these men were infatuated. Ignoring all the great and pressing interests and dangers of the nation, they appeared unable to look beyond the little narrow circle of their own jealousies, envyings, and bickerings. Various important bills and notices of bills were introduced by well-affected members, who attempted some useful legislation, but nothing could be accomplished. Cromwell was indignant and discouraged; and after days more of vain disputings, he, on the 4th of February, and without giving any intimation of his design, went to the House of Lords and summoned the Commons to attend him there. He addressed them

in another speech—a scathing speech, whose closing words were: “I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting, and I do dissolve this parliament. And let God be judge between you and me!” These were the last public words of Cromwell.

Not an hour too soon, this proroguing of such a parliament. “Believe me,” writes Hartlib, “believe me it was of such necessity that if their session had continued but two or three days longer, all had been blood in city and country upon Charles Stuart’s account.”

“The protector,” says another writer, “was never in so much danger as at this moment; the republicans and their friends were ready both with arms and men to fall in with swords in their hands; the army was murmuring for want of pay; the royalists were spirited and combined by means of the marquis of Ormond, who, during the sitting of parliament, had passed several days in disguise and concealment in the city of London, and had returned safely to Charles II. at Bruges; the Levelers and Fifth-monarchy men were pledging their desperate services to those that could dupe them; Cromwell’s old friend Harrison, who

had been released from the Tower after a short confinement, 'was deep in the plot;' Colonel Silas Titus, a Presbyterian royalist, or Colonel Sexby, or whoever was the author of the famed tract entitled 'Killing no Murder,' had invited all patriots to assassination, proclaiming that the greatest benefit any Englishman could render his country would be to murder Cromwell; and yet the protector, even sick and dispirited as he was, was capable of conjuring this universal storm. He called a meeting of officers; he harangued the city and common council; beheaded Dr. Hewitt and Sir Henry Slingsby; threw other plotters into prison; hanged three that were taken with arms in their hands at Cheapside; and not only preserved his authority at home, but also prosecuted his wars abroad with vigor and success." *

Another extract here from Carlyle.

"The lord protector, his parliament having been dismissed with such brevity, is somewhat embarrassed in his finances. But otherwise his affairs stand well, visibly in an improved condition. Once more he has saved Puritan England; once more approved himself invincible

* Pictorial History, iii, p. 412.

abroad and at home. He looks with confidence toward summoning a new parliament of juster disposition toward Puritan England and him. With a parliament, or, if extremity of need arrive without a parliament, and in spite of parliaments, the Puritan Gospel cause, sanctioned by a higher than parliaments, shall not sink while life remains in this man. Not till Oliver Cromwell's head lies low shall English Puritanism bend its head to any created thing. Erect, with its foot on the neck of hydra Babylon, with its open Bible and drawn sword, shall Puritanism stand, and with pious all-defiance victoriously front the world. That was Oliver Cromwell's appointed function in this piece of sublunary space, in this section of swift-flowing time; that noble, perilous, painful function; and he has manfully done it, and is now near ending it, and getting honorably relieved from it." *

* Letters, ii, p. 399.

CHAPTER LVII.

Death of Frances Cromwell's Husband — Lady Claypole — Her distressing Sickness — The Protector's deep Sympathy with his dying Daughter — Her Death — The Father's overwhelming Sorrow — Scripture Consolation.

“NOT till Oliver Cromwell's head lies low shall England's Puritanism bend its head to any created thing.” Even so; but how soon now must that “head lie low.” Dark days are gathering rapidly over the protector's household. Within a fortnight after the dissolution of the parliament died Mr. Rich, the husband of Frances Cromwell, and only four months after their marriage. Thus, at seventeen years of age, poor Frances was left a widow.

Of the protector himself we quote from Carlyle:

“Oliver's look was yet strong, and young for his years, which were fifty-nine last April. The ‘threescore and ten years,’ the Psalmist's limit, which probably was often in Oliver's thoughts and those of others there, might have been anticipated for him. Ten years more of life;

which we may compute would have given another history to all the centuries of England. But it was not to be so; it was to be otherwise. Oliver's health, as we might observe, was but uncertain in late times; often 'indisposed' the spring before last. His course of life had not been favorable to health! 'A burden too heavy for man,' as he himself with a sigh would sometimes say. Incessant toil; inconceivable labor, of head and heart and hand; toil, peril, and sorrow manifold, continued for near twenty years now, had done their part: those robust life-energies, it afterward appeared, had been gradually eaten out. Like a tower, strong to the eye, but with its foundations undermined, which has not long to stand, the fall of which, on any shock, may be sudden."*

In the summer, Lady Claypole, the protector's favorite daughter, Elizabeth, lay sick unto death at Hampton Court. She seems to have been a person of great excellence, and whom all the world loved. Her disease was of a very distressing character, and her sufferings for many days and nights were intense and dread-

* Letters, ii, p. 401.

ful. Her father was continually at her bedside, unable to attend to any business whatever, his great heart breaking with "sorrow upon sorrow." For Cromwell was a most affectionate and tender father, and it is presumable that the profound sympathy of his spirit with his dreadfully afflicted and dying daughter, joined with other sufferings connected with his official position, was too much for him, and fatally undermined his life. "The sorrow of the world worketh death."

Elizabeth's death, which occurred on the 6th of August, overwhelmed the father with anguish. A few days after, being then sick himself, he called for his Bible and requested one to read to him from Philippians iv: "Not that I speak in respect of want; for I have learned in whatsoever state I am therewith to be content. I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound. Everywhere, and by all things, I am instructed; both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need. I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me."

He then said: "This scripture did once save my life when my eldest son died, which went

as a dagger to my heart; indeed it did." He added: "It is true, Paul, *you* have learned this, and attained to this measure of grace; but what shall *I* do? Ah, poor creature, it is a hard lesson for me to take out! I find it so. But reading on to the thirteenth verse, where Paul saith, 'I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me; then faith began to work, and his heart to find support and comfort, and he said thus to himself: He that was Paul's Christ, is my Christ too! And so drew waters out of the well of salvation.'" *

CHAPTER LVIII.

Cromwell himself falls Sick — Case alarming — Great Prayer in his behalf — Some of his last Words — Death — Extract from Carlyle.

As the days passed the protector himself was now sick, and grew sicker and still sicker; and as his case became alarming, prayer on every side was incessantly and earnestly offered on his behalf. "For there were many hearts," says Carlyle, "to whom the nobleness of this ✓

* Letters, ii, pp. 403, 404.

man was known." He adds truly: "It is a great scene of world-history, this in old Whitehall; Oliver Cromwell drawing nigh to his end; the exit of Oliver Cromwell and of English Puritanism; a great light, one of our few authentic solar luminaries going down amid the clouds of death. Like the setting of a great victorious summer sun, its course now finished."

But let a few of his own words speak for him amid this great and last trial.

"Lord, thou knowest, if I do desire to live it is to show forth thy praise and declare thy works."

"The Lord hath filled me with as much assurance of his pardon and his love as my soul can hold."

"I think I am the poorest wretch that lives, but I love God, or rather, am beloved of God."

"I am a conqueror, and more than a conqueror, through Christ that strengtheneth me."

A day or two before he died he was heard to utter the following prayer, which was noted down by his attendants:

“Lord, though I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in covenant with thee through grace, and I may, I will, come to thee for thy people. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good, and thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish, and would be glad of, my death. Lord, however thou do dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love; and go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation; and make the name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much on thy instruments to depend more upon thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are thy people too. And pardon the folly of this short prayer, even for Jesus Christ’s sake. And give us a good night, if it be thy pleasure. Amen !”

On the morning of September 3, 1658, Cromwell was speechless; and ere the sun of that day went down he had ceased to live. September 3, the anniversary of the great victory at Dunbar, also of the great victory at Worcester

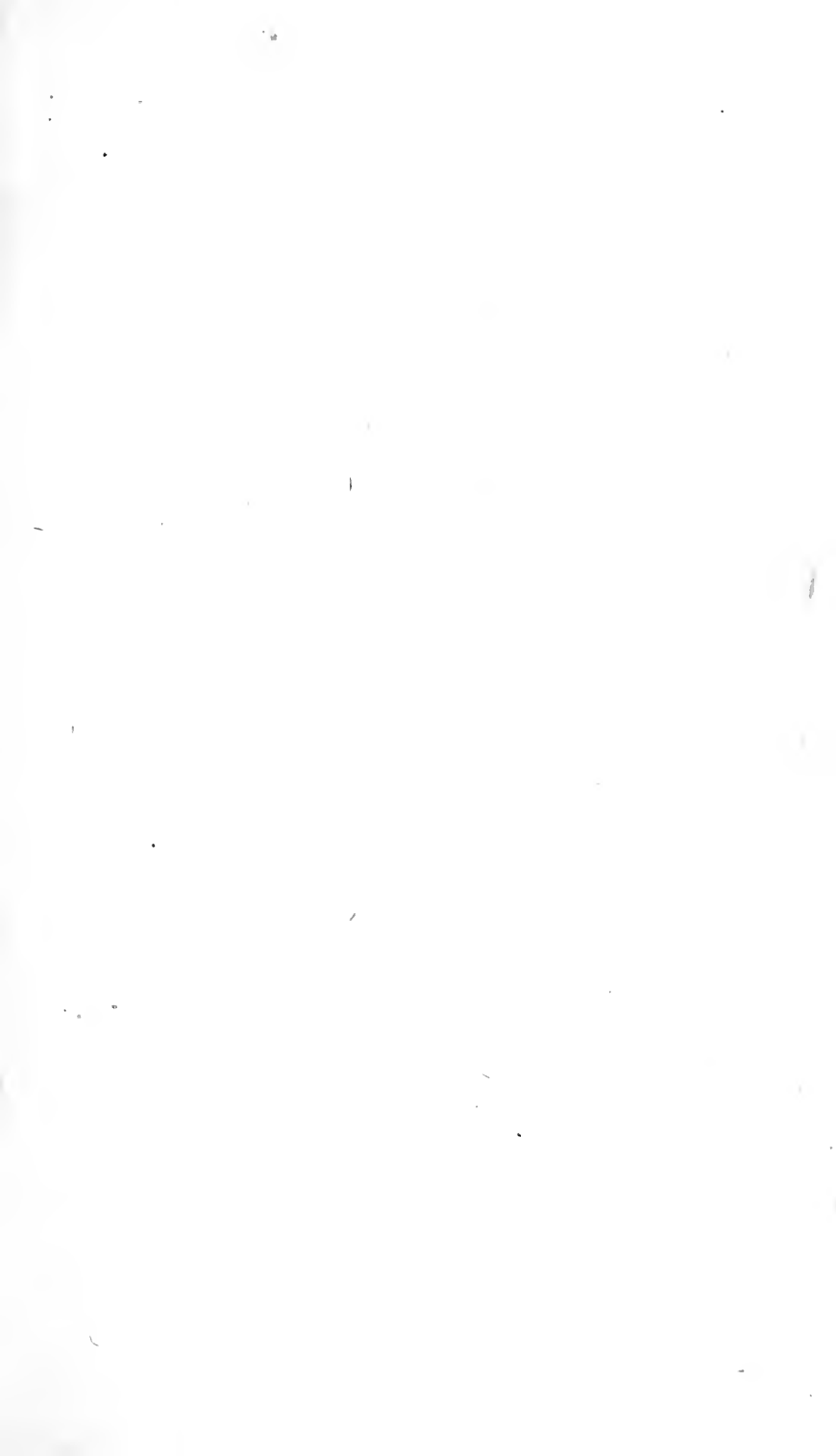
—a day of national thanksgiving for these wonderful successes in arms under the generalship of Cromwell—this was also the day of his decease.

Thus the national thanksgiving was changed to sadness. "The sorrow of the protector's friends, and of the majority of the nation, cannot be described." "The consternation and astonishment of all people," wrote Faucouberg to Henry Cromwell, "are inexpressible; their hearts seem as if sunk within them." "I am not able to speak or write," said Thurloe; "this stroke is so sore, so unexpected, the providence of God in it so stupendous, considering the person that has fallen, the time and season wherein God took him away, with other circumstances, I can do nothing but put my mouth in the dust and say, It is the Lord. . . . It is not to be said what affliction the army and people show to his late highness; his name is already precious. Never was there any man so prayed for.'

Let Carlyle add, as the conclusion of our story of Cromwell: "Oliver is gone, and with him England's Puritanism, laboriously built together by this man, and made a thing far-

shining, miraculous to his own century, and memorable to all the centuries, soon goes. Puritanism, without its king, is *kingless*, anarchic; falls into dislocation, self-collision, staggers, plunges into ever-deeper anarchy; king, defender of the Puritan faith, there can now none be found."

THE END.



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